

30 AUGUST 1988



# ***JPRS Report***

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## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## CONTENTS

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### POLITICAL

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Leading CPSL Secretary Jan Gajdosik Reports to Central Slovakia Conference .....	1
New Forms of Party Work Demanded .....	13
Delays in Restructuring Cause Dismay .....	18
State's Attitude Toward Research Criticized .....	19
Women's Rights Defended, Reaffirmed .....	21

#### POLAND

PZPR Plenary Session in Moscow .....	26
Czyrek, PZPR Lecturers Meet .....	26
Poles on the Soviet Union: Public Opinion Poll Comparisons .....	26
Rakowski, Urban on Importance of Media Role in Post-Plenum Session .....	28
'Consensus' Group Calls for Multilateral Dialogue .....	30
Personnel Policy Needs Complete Restructuring .....	31
New Lodz People's Council Meets, Municipal Property Discussed .....	32
Young Workers Favor Private Sector, Survey Shows .....	32
Less Interest in Politics, More Faith in Economic Recovery .....	33
Alternative Service Draft Law Detailed in Sejm .....	34
PRC Army Political Directorate Official Visits .....	34
Bulgarian State Arbitrator Received .....	35
GDR Auditing Commission Group Meets .....	35
Soviet Veterans Conclude Visit .....	35
Yugoslav Court Delegation Visits .....	35
FRG Lutheran Bishop Visits .....	36
ChSS Chief Meets With Adventists .....	36
PRON Chief, Religious Figure Meet .....	36
Journalists Club on Hungarian Reforms .....	36

#### ROMANIA

Diverse Roads to Socialism Affirmed .....	37
Ilfov Rural 'Sistematizare' Described .....	47
Dean of Literary Criticism's Career, Work Discussed .....	50
Ciocuлесcu Adopted 'Rationalist' Path to Truth .....	50
Ciocuлесcu Defended 'Democratic Values' .....	51

### ECONOMIC

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CEMA Countries' Role, Trade With Europe Discussed .....	53
Role of CEMA Countries in World Economy .....	53
East-West Trade Forecast to Year 2000 Published .....	54
CEMA Problems, New Strategy of Socialist Countries Viewed .....	57

#### HUNGARY

Minister Discusses Present, Future State of Industry .....	61
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**POLAND**

Recent Soviet Trade Terms Discussed, Imbalances Noted .....	65
Available Energy Sources, Restructuring Costs, Demands Discussed .....	67
KZRRiOR Main Council on Purchase Prices, Difficult Agricultural Situation .....	70
Soviets Visit Wroclaw 'Elwro' Plant .....	71
Yugoslav Economic Chamber Delegation Visits .....	71
Academician Skeptical as to Probability of Turning Point for Economy .....	71



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### Leading CPSL Secretary Jan Gajdosik Reports to Central Slovakia Conference

24000120 Banska Bystrica SMER in Slovak  
16 May 88 pp 4, 5, 6

[Speech by Jan Gajdosik, leading secretary of the CPSL Kraj Party Committee, given to kraj conference of the CPSL in Banska Bystrica on 14 May 88: "Achievements of the Kraj Party Organization in Fulfillment of Decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and Measures for Scrupulous Implementation of the Program of the Congress in the Next Years"]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, esteemed guests!

We are meeting today to review in the spirit of decisions by the 7th and 9th plena of the CPCZ Central Committee the strides made by our kraj party organization toward the fulfillment of the decisions by the 17th CPCZ Congress and of the Resolution by the CPSL Congress since the last kraj conference, and to outline a program for the period up to the 17th Congress.

Our party and society have begun a new stage in their development which calls for the adoption of the strategy of acceleration as the only alternative for the advancement of socialism. Its goal is the restructuring of the economic mechanism, technological progress of our production, democratization of our administration and of all aspects of life in our society, and social justice.

At their annual membership meetings and party conferences in our region communists demonstrated full support for the program of the CPCZ Central Committee. These meaningful discussions by the party, especially at district conferences, were noteworthy for their creative and productive atmosphere and comradely openness. The delegates critically reviewed and underscored our own shortcomings as well as the slow removal of causes of chronic problems above all in our economy. Certain party organizations have not understood the full extent and complexity of decision announced at recent meetings and were reluctant to seek solutions. This shows how difficult it is to enforce this challenging course and how urgent is the struggle for a new way of thinking in our party and in the thought and action of every communist and every citizen. When assessing the achieved results, it is our duty to confront the stipulated aims with our objective needs and with the extent to which our kraj party organization is prepared to fulfill the tasks of the restructuring process.

Its challenges facing us demand from our party agencies and organization first of all profound understanding of the complexities of our actual situation and eradication of outdated methods of operation.

A decisive role in the process will be played by the quality of our party, in other words, especially by its ability to act as a true political leader, to develop its program, style, methods and forms of persuading its own members and all working people, and to continue to raise the level of unity, activism and involvement in the life within the party.

The restructuring of the party's activity in itself calls for a new definition of the function of elected party officials. We shall focus it on the solution of fundamental and conceptual problems related to the socioeconomic development of our region. Our members will participate in the review and supervision of the fulfillment of party decisions, and assist their subordinate party agencies and organizations.

Consequently, the party must step up its information-gathering, organizational and administrative work, so that individual meetings of its agencies provide a forum for broader exchanges of views.

Problems must be analyzed in greater depth and collective decisions must be made and more effective measures adopted in order to rectify problems. It is imperative to find out why accomplishments are not equal to efforts expended. Thus, to improve the quality of the party's operations, the skills, experience and general collective intelligence of the members and candidates must be used to better advantage by the party's kraj and district committees. We shall make better use of their suggestions and proposals in our political work.

Nevertheless, we are only at the starting point. Our efforts will focus on the executives and secretaries in charge who will have account for their performance to elected officials, and on the committee of basic organizations which will give account to membership meetings in order to prevent cases where a small group of individuals made decisions concerning important issues.

As regards the style and method of work of the party's kraj committee, the organizational form of investigative methodical polls conducted by the members of elected agencies, action-group committees and employees of the party apparatus proved successful in our situation. Their results helped spread information about actual conditions, strengthen personal contacts of the officials with basic party organizations, and generalize favorable experience.

Nevertheless, we must be critical enough to note that the experience and information gained in this manner have not been fully utilized. Adopted decisions do not always correspond with the gravity of the situation.

To improve the style and methods of its work, the kraj committee last year adopted specific measures to render its administrative and political organizational program more effective. Our experience and information indicate



that its work was gradually getting better, which was further confirmed by the results of annual membership meetings and party conferences.

Higher achievements in our party's political work depend mostly on the party's district committees which must enforce the party's policy much more emphatically and in particular, independently. We must gradually overcome one-sided approaches to the solution of great many economic problems which are the direct cause of the weakening of the management of basic organizations. They must be taught greater independence in action, and creativity in enforcing the party's policies among our working people. The standard of operations of basic organizations is the best proof of the quality of achievements in every sector of the party's structure.

We can find ample hidden resources for enhancing the efficiency of our party agencies and organizations in better decisionmaking in the whole system. Computer technology used for data-gathering has revealed that we had adopted many redundant and formalistic decisions. However, the bottom line for us is the need to approach these decisions with all the seriousness they deserve.

In recent years our party officials and organizations followed the reform of the membership base with unflagging attention. They proceeded from the decisions of the preceding conference and from the Main Directions for Further Improvement and Formation of the Membership Base, approved by the meeting of the kraj committee in 1986, which specifies in detail the decisions of the third plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. Their implementation will gradually raise the standard of the party's internal affairs and communist involvement.

While improving the membership base, we took pains to strengthen the class character of our party—its workers' core—and to increase women's participation. Although there are considerable unwarranted differences in the organizational structure of the membership and influence in certain branches and categories, the party is asserting its leading role and influence on every part of our public life.

The development and improvement of the membership base was distinctly affected by the admission of new candidates. Over the past 2 years we received more than 5,000 candidates, of whom 68 percent are workers and 6.5 percent members of unified agricultural cooperatives. The share of women is equal to 35.6 percent. The kraj organization shows an increase of 3.4 percent.

All public groups have increased their membership, and workers in active employment remain the strongest group.

The level of education of our party members and candidates has been raised. Although their achievements indicate that our party agencies and organizations have systematically focused their attention on improving the

membership base, different approaches are still noted in the selection of, and attention to, young people, particularly workers, before they are admitted as candidates for the party membership.

In the future we must more efficiently combine efforts to improve the membership base with the fulfillment of our main tasks stemming from the process of restructuring. We must strengthen the member base by a more effective deployment of communists in areas where they are needed, but above all, by training and admitting candidates from the vital sectors of our material production and from sectors of science, technology and research. By the same token, we shall see to it that the party constantly weeds out inactive members and those who have grossly violated its statutes. Party discipline cannot be narrowed down to cases of violation of law. It is imperative that every communist be aware not only of his or her rights but above all, of his or her duties—in other words, that he or she is prepared for the tasks ahead and become a true fighter for the prestige of socialism, and an active participant in the restructuring process, reaching out beyond the scope of his or her own organization.

The decisive role in improving the activism of our party organizations is played by membership meetings. We want to deal with political issues and take action concerning urgent problems in workplaces. They should provide a ground on which every party member will render accounts for his or her achievements and fulfillment of specific tasks. Furthermore, members who have violated socialist laws must be subjected to stricter party penalties.

The pivotal issue in the restructuring process is the work with the cadres. The selection, training, deployment and standards of supervision of cadre activities determine the results of the fulfillment of tasks in every area of our region's social development. Thus, it is no coincidence that the 7th and 8th sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee put the greatest emphasis on the work with cadres.

Party agencies scrupulously followed Leninist principles in their selection, training, deployment and supervision of cadres, and provided excellent opportunities for the cadres' success in their fulfillment of tasks in every area of our region's public life. Their foremost concern was in the past—and will be in the future—the effort to strengthen the party's agencies, starting with the committees of the party's basic organizations. Therefore, the cadre planning for annual membership meetings and party conferences was focused on the selection of the most competent party members—officials who attend to their assignments in an exemplary manner and who enjoy natural authority and trust of work teams. This effort was favorably reflected in a better composition of the newly elected party officials, which makes it possible to improve their skills as political leaders of the working people within the scope of their activity.

We are concerned about upgrading the party apparatus. In past years the standard of its qualification and its social and class representation improved. Party officials in our region are operating with a highly skilled professional apparatus which promises to fulfill the challenges of the coming years. We shall insist that the party apparatus adopt a profoundly political, ideological and ethical program of social restructuring and that it be able to explain and enforce it in direct contact with party organizations and work teams.

Even though our work with the hidden potential of our cadres has improved in recent years, less than 40 percent are being utilized, as confirmed by the chronic formalities in the evaluation, arbitrary and subjective selections, and appointments to nomenklatura positions.

As follows from the decisions by the 7th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving the cadres policy and democratizing the work with cadres, it is therefore necessary to objectify their selection and appointments, to train cadres for the program of democratization of all public life, to pay more attention to the selection of cadres mainly from the ranks of the workers' class, to advance young people, women, non-members, or members of other political parties, and to provide lifelong education for the cadres. In our opinion, the primary criterion of their maturity is their performance. Only that official will succeed who is convinced that the process of restructuring is unavoidable, who understands its political and ethical essence, and who can fight for its fulfillment.

We regard the election of self-management and of directors as one of the means to objectify the selection of cadres. In our region we have already gained some experience which we would not want to overestimate, but neither would we let it be belittled. We are convinced that if our party agencies and organization will lead this process, capable, competent and responsible individuals with natural authority will lead the labor teams.

We consider the sharing of information within the party an important area of the party's political work. Experience has confirmed that certain party officials and organizations still cannot fully appreciate its importance, especially basic organizations do not review regularly the political situation and the views of the communists and of the public within the range of their activity.

We hope that the measures issued last March by the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee on improving the party's information system will help upgrade this work.

A vital part of the information gathering, organizational and administrative program of our party agencies is the processing of the suggestions submitted by party members, and of complaints and letters from our working people. We must act responsibly when dealing with legitimate demands of our citizens.

We realize that the current style and methods of our party's work have developed over many years and that they will not be easy to overcome. The fact that we have no instructions for proceeding in a new way also adds to our perplexity. Thus, we must seek on our own the most effective methods of work, to generalize positive experience and to apply it when fulfilling our current tasks. Our party agencies and organizations are faced with the challenge of learning how to conduct public policy and to show more respect for the needs and interests of our people.

Comrades!

The scope and the challenge of the tasks we must fulfill in the restructuring process impose considerable demands also on our party's program of ideological education.

Therefore, all our ideological work is focused mainly on mobilization of the communists and other working people, and on encouragement of their creativity and involvement in labor and in civic endeavors.

In our view, the main true and tested method of ideological work is direct contact with the masses of our working people, every communist's personal example, and the development of various forms of personal propaganda and instruction.

Such forms include propaganda campaigns, among them joint commemorations of Lenin or Gottwald, public party rallies, discussion meetings—conversation of the party with young people—and so on. Valuable experience with such programs was reported from the districts of Banska Bystrica, Zvolen, Prievidza, Liptovsky Mikulas, and Martin.

The fulcrum of all propaganda and ideological education is in the explanation of the party's economic policies to the working people, so that they may learn about the organic link between the planned tasks, their own vital interests and actual achievements.

We must create opportunities for our labor teams to gain specific, accurate information about their contribution to the process of restructuring. As a matter of fact, that is not practiced everywhere. So long as a particular creator of values, especially an industrial or agricultural worker or a creative technician, is not fully convinced, we cannot speak of any progress. We must persuade everyone completely that this is the right direction. After all, it is against our principles to underrate the program of restructuring and to pursue it only because of economic pressures.

An important, well-tested weapon in the communist ideological and political arsenal is party education.



Its main emphasis is on better contents and greater efficiency and its aim is more successful participation in the party's internal activities, communist activism and determination.

In our region 97 percent of the party members and candidates have been acquainted with materials of the congress. More than 21,000 communists are taking part in lecture and propaganda programs. It is a step in the right direction that this group of activists was further expanded and consolidated and that the contents and methods of its training have been improved. We are making strides in upgrading the ideological and political training of our candidates and young members of the party, which is attended annually by 98 percent of the newly accepted candidates. Moreover, the training course for the caucuses of officials, propaganda specialists and lecturers was improved. In addition to the regular courses, the month-long advanced training for chairmen of basic organizations offered by the Kraj Political School is also successful.

Despite the predominantly advantageous results, we cannot ignore certain shortcomings and formalistic attitudes. The complexity of the restructuring strategy has not been adequately clarified in every sector.

The political-ideological course for the members of the Socialist Youth League is plagued by problems, and lagging behind the needs of our day. Everyone must realize that today's main ideological battlefield involves the struggle for the minds of our young people, because our class enemies are trying to influence our young people. Moreover, we cannot be satisfied with the standard and efficiency of education offered to the members of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement. We see a chance for its improvement in the training of its own lecturers and propaganda specialists as well as in the focus of its contents. Therefore, among the foremost tasks of our party agencies and organizations will be systematic introduction of a new system of party education and its practical application.

From our kraj political school, institutes and departments for political education we expect that they will teach not only theory but also methodology, and train party functionaries, lecturers and propaganda specialists, and that they will be able to instruct experts for direct work with teams of workers and in communities where their training will be effectively reflected in practice.

One of the main tasks in the program of our party agencies and organizations was systematic teaching of our world view in accordance with the Long-Term Project approved for this particular area. National committees, public organizations of the National Front, schools and cultural-educational institutes have not taken advantage of this opportunity to influence in particular the young generation.

An important and vital task in the program of propaganda, education and mobilization of our working people for the fulfillment of their tasks involves mass media of information and propaganda—the daily SMER, kraj stations of Czechoslovak broadcast, Czechoslovak television, and periodicals published by districts, enterprises and factories.

We appreciate their endeavors which demand thorough knowledge, creativity, principled approach, and often also courage. Next to highly professional journalism, we expect that now in the future they will promote openness of information and public control. In agreement with the Leninist principles of openness of information adopted by the executive board of the kraj committee, we request that they publish more analytical reports from individual workplaces, national committees and public organizations of the National Front. They must speak and write more about our people and for our people, mobilize them for the fulfillment of the strategic tasks, acceleration and restructuring of our society. They must contribute more to enhance the activity, initiative and nonformalistic socialist competition and to develop new forms and methods of work. In addition, they must meet the demands of communist education of our working people and youth, and struggle against antisocial activities.

The kraj organization of the Union of Slovak journalists must step up efforts to encourage journalistic creativity and to galvanize all journalists in our region.

Friendly contacts with kraj organizations of the fraternal parties in the USSR, the Bulgarian People's Republic, Hungarian People's Republic, the GDR, the Polish People's Republic, and the Romanian Socialist Republic are extremely meaningful for our citizens' international education. We shall continue to expand them in accordance with the adopted agreements on mutual cooperation.

Comrades!

In recent years the Czechoslovak educational and cultural system underwent various changes stemming from the objective developmental needs of our society.

Basic organizations in schools were the first to introduce qualitative changes in education and training, and systematically mobilized educators for the fulfillment of the party's educational policies.

The main directions and objectives of the document issued by the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee in 1976 are being successfully implemented in our region. Our schools are gaining a new, modern character. Qualities, such as creativity, activism and independence entered the process of teaching, and learning by rote was substantially curtailed. In instruction, stress is on the educational impact. We are particularly concerned about the training of children of Gypsy origin and about schools for minorities.



At the same time, an analysis of the Czechoslovak educational and cultural system also confirmed that all problems in our region have not been resolved. We can see that students are overworked; in the fulfillment of difficult tasks of our party's educational policies new methods are introduced at an extremely slow pace. In many instances, textbooks are not available, or they are written in a style that is incomprehensible to children; some educators are not adequately prepared to deal with their new, urgent tasks. The double-track administration, sometimes also a lack of public appreciation of our secondary vocational training institutions, and the misunderstood training of the future workers' class negatively affect the educational and training process in facilities that prepare young people for worker's trades.

In the past the party's leading role was more resolutely enforced and intensified in our institutes of higher learning.

We took a step forward in upgrading communist education and its efficiency. Nevertheless, among our young people there are still some whose attitudes towards urgent problems of our time are wrong.

Experience has shown that our system of fields of study does not adequately conform with the changing macrostructure, especially with the strategic requirements of an accelerated socioeconomic development. The development of advanced fields of study is lagging behind our needs.

Among the best organizational methods facilitating the implementation of this objective demand in our region is the need to establish a college of a qualitatively new type—a polytechnic—in Banská Bystrica. It will include the already existing departments of humanities, economy and technology, to which departments of technical directions will be gradually added.

In conjunction with the creation of more comprehensive conditions for the further development of colleges in our region, we must step up the construction of buildings for the Institute of Transportation and Communications in Žilina, of the dormitories for the Teachers College in Banská Bystrica, and of the Institute for Forestry and Timber Industry in Zvolen.

In order to expand the institutions of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, we must create proper conditions, above all, space, because the share of our region in Slovak sciences is 3.6 percent, which is far below our potential and our needs.

We shall insist on greater efficiency on the part of colleges and scientific institutes in our region in using their R&D capacities for the fulfillment of their foremost economic tasks.

Our party agencies and organizations devoted particular attention to culture and arts and to their impact on people's minds and action. The achieved results were reviewed at a meeting of the kraj committee last year. Its conclusion stipulated such a development of culture in the nearest future that strengthens man's socialist attitude to labor and socialist realism.

We continue to stress that the program for our cultural development imposes more scrupulous criteria on the performance of cultural activists, particularly managers, in every sector of public life. They must have perfect knowledge and the objectives and means of cultural programs, of educating people within the scope of their activity, and of influencing their minds, so as to enhance our working people's initiative, creativity and consciousness in harmony with our national interests. Together with public organizations of the National Front they must see to it that our cultural institutions in towns and communities are used efficiently. We demand that our party organizations intensify their ideological impact on the essence of cultural endeavors within the range of their activity.

In addition, we demand that they pay attention to unions of artists and their individual members. From our artists we expect creative work in their districts or home towns.

Our culture must fight for the policies of the CPCZ, for socialism, and for our alliance with the USSR. Also, our cultural vanguard must contribute more for our patriotic and internationalist education.

Efforts to preserve and restore landmarks in our towns continued in recent years. Our foremost task is to enlist local construction companies for the restoration and maintenance of historical objects.

Furthermore, all theater buildings in our region are scheduled for remodeling. A new theater bearing the name of Jozef Gregor Tajovský will be built in Banská Bystrica. The remodeling of the building for the Hall of Arts was launched this year.

Comrades!

In the current 5-year period our region continues to fulfill its challenging economic tasks. The volume of production will increase by more than one-third, adjusted value added by 50 percent, profits by 140 percent, while material consumption and costs will decline approximately 10 percent. Our electrical and machine engineering industries are expected to bear the lion's share in these efforts.

Our party agencies and organizations have done extensive political organizational work for the fulfillment of our tasks in the past period. On the level of the party's kraj committee officials and political economists regularly discussed the fulfillment of economic task and held frequent consultations with ministries, middle-level

management and enterprises. District and factory committees and basic party organizations worked in the same spirit. Special attention was focused particularly on cellulose, paper, textile, and electrical engineering industries where the fulfillment of specific tasks had encountered serious problems in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan.

If we review the overall fulfillment of the plan, we may note that most enterprises are meeting their stipulated assignments and vigorously participating in asset formation. Nevertheless, their achievements should not be overestimated because many of them are not meeting their tasks.

Above all, it is disturbing that, as yet, the process of intensification has not been implemented and that the necessary upturn in the development of the qualitative aspects of the process of production has not been achieved.

We are constantly encountering excessive inputs of raw materials, supplies and energy in production, too many unfinished construction projects and also stockpiling of inventories. Problems with the technical development, the quality of goods and foreign trade also affect the fulfillment of tasks.

Consequently, the tasks in the creation of adjusted value added have not been met because the industry in 1986 in our region was 1.9 percent below the plan and last year 3.3 percent below the plan.

We regarded the enforcement of intensification factors as the utmost task in our region's economy, but we are displeased with its results. What we need is more efficient utilization of our R&D and economic-production capacities, prompt introduction of R&D achievements in every area of economy in our region, and our consistent integration in international division of labor, particularly within the CEMA framework. Shortcomings are evident in technological and labor discipline and order in the workplaces.

The quality of manufactured goods was unsatisfactory. As compared with 1985, the share of new products and also of new goods with high technical and economic rating declined, as did the share of goods rated first quality, especially in non-ferrous metallurgy, machinery and electrical engineering, construction materials, wood-processing and food industries. At the same time, the number of enterprises whose products were in the third quality category increased. It is axiomatic that we cannot be pleased with such a situation.

R&D in our region took a step forward, as evident from further advances of electronization, automation and robotization into every area of public life. The economic production units of Zavody tazkeho strojarstva [Heavy

Machinery Works], Zavody na vyrobu lozisk [Ball-Bearing Manufacturing Plants], Vyskumny ustav vypočetnej techniky [Research Institute for Computer Technology] in Zilina and other enterprises and organizations reported good results.

This positive trend must be continuously intensified in our region and in accordance with the decisions of the 7th and 8th plena of the CPCZ Central Committee, our party agencies and organizations must be taught that electronization, robotization and automation are vitally important for the achievement of higher efficiency in the whole system of replacement.

We expect that the above-mentioned organizations will strive even harder to introduce electronics in machine engineering, construction and production of specialized machine tools and systems, and that they will promote progress not only in our region but in all of our republic. They have the capacity and the potential for it. They must realize the basic truth of the restructuring that in the first place, large industrial enterprises and manufacturing organizations are responsible for progress.

We complain that our machinery is outdated, but we cannot remedy this problem without increasing the number of shifts. If we want to improve the quality of technology and goods, we cannot deny fair incentives to creative technicians, otherwise the know-how and excellent skills of our workers would be wasted.

Our financial management has improved to some extent over the past years, but the planned level has not been reached particularly in material costs, amassed inventories and consequent insolvency of enterprises. These basic problems call for constant attention in every branch in our region.

The construction industry in our region fulfilled its planned tasks in almost all decisive aspects, although it lagged behind the plan in mandatory construction projects and in comprehensive housing construction, especially in technological and public facilities.

The cause may be found in inadequate investment and planning preparations and in the nonfulfillment of deliveries of technology and assembly works, and above all, in shortages of construction capacities in our region which are far below those in other regions of the SSR.

Despite this situation, construction enterprises are obligated to provide services even outside our region. Thus, the Resolution of the CPSL Congress which stipulates "intensification of construction capacities particularly in the districts of Povazska Bystrica, Zilina and Martin" could not be fully implemented. For the same reason, the existing construction capacities in our region are unable to complete even mandatory construction projects, building or individual parts of the plan and public and technical facilities. For example, the Pozemne stavby



[Surface Construction] national enterprise in Zilina cannot complete in this 5-year plan public facilities in the value of Kcs 100 million, because that enterprise has extremely demanding obligations outside our region. The same situation exists in the Stavindustria [Construction Industry] in Banska Bystrica where investors' demands considerably exceed the capacity of that enterprise.

Of course, it would be naive to wait until our major construction enterprises are able to satisfy every demand in our region. We envisage that more building will be done in towns and communities by citizens' self-help.

Self-financing will lower the costs. The sources of work forces will be found in better use of legitimate worktime and higher labor productivity.

The development of capital investment has not marked the planned improvement. Although annual plans stipulated test runs for five projects in 1986, only one was delivered. Last year only 7 out of 11 projects were completed, which stymied the economic development and structure in our region. In the sense of the decisions by the 7th and 8th CPCZ Congress and by the CPSL Congress, we shall insist that all participants in the process of capital investment complete investment projects for the ecological program, above all those in Ziar on the Hron River, in Prievidza, on the lower Orava River, and in Ruzomberok.

In the first 2 years of this 5-year plan a total of 19,000 units in comprehensive housing construction were completed—that is only 35 percent of the tasks for this 5-year plan. We must note that this jeopardizes the fulfillment of the tasks stipulated for the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Therefore, we demand that construction organizations in our region, the Central Slovakia Kraj National Committee, and planning organizations act more systematically in implementing the decisions and measures adopted by the presidium pro tem of our kraj committee of the CPSL in May 1986.

Comrades!

The decisive task in transportation on the territory of our region will be to focus on efficient transportation according to the needs of our economy and our public, with an emphasis on the best possible utilization of the means of transportation, better quality and a civilized way of traveling. The achievements of the past 2 years indicate that to some extent a beginning has been made in this direction.

It is necessary for us to point out the fact that the fulfillment of tasks was hampered by the low technological preparation of the rolling stock, irregularities in transportation and in passenger service, shortage and poor physical condition of autobuses. We are very concerned about the low limits of motor oil for freight and

passenger automobile transportation to help upgrade the conditions for travel and regular flow of transportation under existing circumstances.

The branch of communications marked further improvements in telecommunication services largely due to new telephone centrals in Banska Bystrica, Zilina and Rimavska Sobota. Moreover, technical conditions of radio and television systems also improved. We are facing problems stemming from the low standard of organizational and public telecommunications, in modernization and updating of telecommunications, in the planning for installations of new connections, including data and fax transmission, and in overall updating of mail and newspaper delivery.

A review of tasks in the economy of our national committees has shown that the stipulated objectives are being met. Our enterprises and organizations have exceeded their planned outputs and tasks in production, labor and services. It is a step in the right direction that the overfulfillment was achieved by higher labor productivity.

Special efforts were made to improve our social and health services. In the past 2 years the capacities of institutions of social care was expanded by 570 units; 7,000 units were added to public dining facilities for retired people, and nursing care was up 23 percent. However, our region is still below the SSR average in facilities, especially hospitals, specialized therapeutic institutions, facilities for chronically ill, psychiatric hospitals, and training and diagnostic institutions for juveniles.

We are not pleased with the situation of supplies to our domestic markets. On the one hand, the retail system fulfilled the tasks of annual plans, but on the other, many goods, both industrial and food products, were in short supply.

Comrades!

This review of achievements in our economic development shows that the stipulated objectives and the required standard of management and organizational work have not been attained in every area. Our party organizations and communists in economic management have not succeeded in enforcing new approaches, forms and methods of work. We must consider all this very seriously.

Our era, which we regard as a watershed, is posing new challenges to us.

In their experiment with greater independence and responsibility for their lucrative development some manufacturing enterprises and service organizations are testing their self-financing potential.



The objective of the experiment is to test thoroughly, under realistic conditions, the crucial factors of a new economic mechanism, greater independence and responsibility of organizations for the satisfaction of the needs of our whole society and of the needs of their own teams.

For its systematic and complete fulfillment the program of restructuring calls for experimental application of the principles of restructuring and for necessary political experience to be gained from the operation of autonomous, self-managing organizations, elections of managing cadres and organizations operating under the new system.

Our kraj party committee follows these issues assiduously. Nevertheless, we are dissatisfied with the rate with which the program of restructuring is being implemented because thus far only one enterprise in our region has chosen self-management and two enterprises elected their managerial cadres. In the coming period this task must be carried out far more expeditiously.

We are facing challenging tasks also due to the restructuring of our production-technological, R&D and financial bases whose objective is to provide opportunities for the fullest application of the law on state enterprise, for two-stage management, and to help enterprises respond to public needs prudently, promptly and flexibly.

The presidium of the Central Slovakia Kraj Committee of the CPSL discussed this week the proposals submitted by the ministries for the establishment of state enterprises as of 1 July 1988. Local or personal interests prevail in certain ministries and general directorates, regardless of national criteria, and efforts are made to change general directorates into state enterprises. The proposals of enterprises and the views of our party and trade-union organizations concerning the establishment of state enterprises are not heeded, even if they demonstrate that they are able to plan and realize their own development. However, objectively speaking, initial forebodings about the atomization of managerial structures have not materialized partly because of fears of accountability and partly for reasons of economic survival.

Although the tasks of the plan for the first quarter of this year have been fulfilled, the disturbing fact is that the achieved results represent a relatively minor share of the tasks for the year. Furthermore, it must be noted that the plans were downscaled due to the fact that many managers are constantly and endlessly blaming the shortcomings in their economic programs only on objective causes.

Our data indicate that the overwhelming majority of current problems are subjective and that they are caused by insufficient discipline and inferior management. Therefore, all our party agencies and organizations must consistently enforce the party's leading role and right of control.

The communists in the agricultural and food industry complex focused their efforts on the fulfillment of the main goal—to supply the population with food and to improve its nutrition and at the same time, to become more self-sufficient in food production.

We adopted the main directions for our socioeconomic development for the period of the 5-year plan and up to the end of this century, which include the task to increase our gross agricultural production by 15.9 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, with priority to higher crop production.

Today it may be said that the favorable results of the previous 5-year plan continued in the first 2 years in which these tasks have been implemented. Our gross agricultural production was up 9.8 percent, of which crop production rose 10.6 percent.

The successful production of grain and oleaginous crops and of certain other types of produce deserves our appreciation. Nevertheless, there are great and often unwarranted differences in achievements of enterprises operating in similar conditions.

Although the weather last year was unfavorable, it alone cannot be blamed for the nonfulfillment of certain tasks, particularly in the cultivation of sugar beets and legumes in the southern districts of our region, and of potatoes in the central and northern districts.

The shortfall was caused mainly by chronic problems with agricultural technology and by shortcomings in material and technological supplies for production. Programs of research and production of better varieties of potatoes, protection of vegetation, harvesting and treatment of crops must be rapidly upgraded. It is imperative to improve the intensity of production and to stabilize the yields of potatoes. To be perfectly frank, our marketing system must also fundamentally improve its operations.

The long-lasting stagnation in the production of sugar beets was caused by chronic shortcomings in material supplies for production, comprehensive agrotechnology, protection, cultivation and harvesting. More efforts must be made to improve the quality of biological materials and to reduce harvest losses.

In addition, we must underscore the fact that we must become self-sufficient in particular in the production of vegetables and fruit in every district and follow the principle that whatever can be grown locally, must be grown locally. Now and especially in the future it would be wasteful to rely on imports from the southern districts and from abroad.

Our livestock production took a step in the right direction. During the period under discussion its volume was up 9.3 percent and its planned tasks were overfulfilled. The numbers of cattle and hogs increased, the volume of

pork production also increased considerably. As compared with the 1st year of this 5-year plan, milk production was up 138 litres and the increments of fattened cattle were up 40 grams. Seasonal fluctuations in milk deliveries declined, and deliveries of livestock for slaughter were regular.

We cannot be satisfied with the loss rate of livestock. Also, due to the exhaustion of milking cows, beef production is very inefficient.

Thus, our livestock production has untapped assets mainly in utility values, renewal, better processing of fodder, particularly the bulk type, and in its better utilization. Further growth of intensity and efficiency in our livestock production is contingent on better management of our agricultural enterprises and service organizations and on its continued course toward self-sufficiency in basic types of food products as well as on their improved quality, primarily by the most effective use of chemicalization.

Tasks in agricultural investment are being fulfilled in every indicator. The existing facilities in this area should be more efficiently updated and remodeled.

Of special concern must be ecological facilities and better and working environment for our working people.

To achieve its stipulated objectives, our agriculture must expeditiously adopt R&D achievements for practical application, with an emphasis on electronics and biotechnology.

In crop production this concerns a higher bioenergetic potential of the soil, introduction of more prolific varieties, and integrated protection of the vegetation. Livestock production must seek ways to intensify the indicators of renewal.

The review of these achievements suggests that we must begin to strengthen khozraschet management much more resolutely, primarily on the basis of enterprise subdivisions already with respect to the new economic mechanism. While maintaining the planned growth or production, we must constantly insist on cost cutting and adopt specific measures for rewards and organization of labor, in order to boost overall efficiency of direct labor and capital assets. An important factor here must be areal systems of cultivation, for which appropriate material, technical and organizational conditions must be provided. In the interest of higher yield in livestock production, we must improve veterinarian and husbandry programs and promote order and discipline in workplaces.

In the past 2 years our food industry made further advances due to higher agricultural production for the market. Although it fulfilled its tasks in volume indicators, it failed to meet the demands on the quality of its products.

Even though we realize the problems with the tightening of the plan, mainly in economic indicators, we must take a critical attitude to inferior organization and management operations.

We definitely must stress better mobilization of the still untapped assets, greater profitability of funds invested in production, and the quality and supply of consumer goods, because even with greater volumes of deliveries of consumer goods and with the supply of the basic assortment of daily foods, certain types of goods could not meet all demands of our population. Thus, we have instructed managers in charge to produce the kinds of goods that the customers want.

Greater concern about the quality of products is absolutely essential for continuous satisfaction of consumers' needs. We cannot be pleased with the current state of affairs. We must take a critical look at the control of inputs, stages of operation, and outputs in factories and of observation of labor and technological discipline. Our basic party organizations must strive harder for better quality goods and take a more resolute stand against management when enforcing their right of control.

Innovation of goods is important for upgrading them. Despite certain steps forward in this area, too many neglected opportunities still remain. We urge managers in charge to promote in the process of innovation particularly all improvements of utility and esthetic values, and not only interest in higher price of their products.

Capital investment deserves special attention. Although capital assets have increased, tasks in modernization of technological facilities have not been fully met, which is underscored by the problem with the construction of a dairy plant in Velky Krtis and of the meat-processing plants in Lucenec. We hope that the Stavindustria in Banska Bystrica as the contractor for these projects will demonstrate more responsibility than thus far and fulfill its tasks.

Although our primary agricultural production revitalized to some extent the plans to join efforts with food industry enterprises, we must note that their development has not attracted the attention it deserves. The managers of our food industry must deal with this important task with more determination.

A current challenge pertains to the fulfillment of economic indicators of the state plan in our food industry enterprises. In the final analysis, its criterion is the customers' satisfaction with the deliveries and desirable choice of top-quality goods in domestic markets. Managers of our food industry must be more flexible in dealing with the producers of raw materials and trade organizations. Furthermore, they must focus their attention on the creation of proper conditions for the implementation of the principles for the restructuring of the economic mechanism in our agricultural and food production complex.

As for our forest economy, our state forestry enterprises fulfilled all decisive indicators of the state plan. At its meeting last November, the kraj party committee lowered their tasks and adopted specific measures to improve the current situation of our forests.

It welcomed the efforts of the communists and of basic party organizations for giving priority to the development of cultivation programs and for improving operations in every sector of our forest economy. In addition, it underscored its chronic problems and shortcomings. Losses in reforestation which amount to 30-45 percent are excessively high. The share of emergency cutting is nearly one-third of the annual plan. Social programs have not been adequately fulfilled. Departmental rivalries between forest managements and the processing industry still hamper the fulfillment of the program for comprehensive processing and utilization of wood pulp and biomass. We expect that the integration of our wood-processing industry with the ministry of forest economy will help remedy this situation.

Our water economy satisfactorily met its foremost task, which is to provide adequate supplies of water for our population and for individual branches of our national economy in this region. By their efforts, our working people resolved some of the more serious problems in the districts of Ziar on the Hron River, Velky Krtis and Dolny Kubin.

To obtain better supply of drinking water, all interested parties must mobilize their forces and finish without delay the reservoir in Nova Bystrica and the first stage of the construction of the reservoir in Malinec.

The building of the reservoir in Turcek is still plagued by serious problems. In our opinion, its construction should start no later than in 1990.

In order to upgrade the structure and protection of the environment in our region, we are focusing with more determination on better protection of our underground and surface waters.

In accordance with the objectives of our region's development, the plans for the construction of waste water purification facilities were considerably downscaled as compared with the original ecological program.

Specific measures implemented over the past 2 years prevented the quality of our streams from deteriorating, however, there were cases of unwarranted accidental pollution, particularly with crude oil.

That does not speak highly of the managers of organizations and their responsibility for the fulfillment of the task to improve the environment. Developments in recent years have fully confirmed that the main principles of our political system—based now and in the future on the National Front—were chosen correctly.

We intend to stress even more the importance and the mission of the National Front, so that it may offer our working people an opportunity for wide participation in making decisions about local and national affairs.

We appreciate the political, public and labor-oriented activity of the organizations of the National Front in the fulfillment of the election program and in its aid to our agriculture, in beautification of our homes and workplaces, and in socialist education of our citizens and especially, of our young generation.

We are gratified that public organizations last year expanded their membership base by an additional 60,000 members, particularly young people and women.

In the future they must do more not only to expand, but rather to improve their membership base.

We regard the organization of a network of civic and hobby groups, above all, in new housing developments in our towns, as an urgent task for communists involved in agencies and organizations of the National Front.

With national committees they must motivate our citizens and young people by offering them more opportunities for their participation and involvement in the planning of programs and in decisionmaking processes.

The National Front and its organizations cannot succeed without their close cooperation with national committees. Their cooperation must be expanded, especially in the planning, introduction and control of the fulfillment of election programs, implementation of individual plans for cultural and educational programs, and in joint planning of socialist education for the young generation.

Since our last conference we have achieved favorable results in expanding women's political and civic involvement and in improving their working and living conditions. We sincerely appreciate their accomplishments which include their public and political activities in addition to their role as mothers and to their jobs. National committees, trade unions and managers must continue to offer them better services and thus, enable women to upgrade their skills and obtain better qualification for managerial and administrative positions in our society.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship League is a prominent factor in developing and consolidating our fraternal international relations with the USSR. In the coming years, our public must get better acquainted with the life and work of the Soviet people and above all, with their experience in the process of the restructuring of Soviet society. Every branch [of the League] must plan its programs systematically.



From the communists in the Czechoslovak Physical Education Association we expect that they will concentrate their efforts on the future development of grass-root physical training and intensive preparations for the Czechoslovak Spartakiad gymnastic exhibition in 1990.

The communists in the Firefighters' Association must upgrade their program, especially prevention of fires whose rate has not declined in recent years. With that in mind, they need better cooperation with national committees and economic organizations.

Other public and special-interest organizations of the National Front also merit our recognition and appreciation. I wish to express my conviction that they will fully participate in the fulfillment of the tasks that will be adopted by the kraj conference.

In the past years our party agencies and organizations continued their efforts to stimulate the involvement of communists in the Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement. They deserve commendation for their contribution to the achievements of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade-Union Movement] organizations in promoting labor initiative and socialist competition.

Furthermore, we appreciate the accomplishments of the improvers, inventors and comprehensive rationalization teams. Their achievements benefit our society and should prompt trade-union agencies and especially managements to provide the best possible opportunities for their work.

One of the important tasks involving the economic mechanism is the participation of our trade unions in the recruitment of labor teams for the teamwork system in the organization of labor and rewards. In particular, enterprises which joined the experiment must pay far more attention to this task, so that the overwhelming majority of labor teams follow the khozraschet principle. Not much time is left before the law on state enterprises becomes valid.

From the officials of trade unions and their members we expect that they will enthusiastically join in the fulfillment of the restructuring program and consult with the workers at conferences on production and at meetings of socialist labor teams. We must look precisely there for guarantees of their successful achievements.

From the communists in the ROH we demand that they be more determined to mobilize the working people for the fulfillment of planned tasks and that they participate more in reducing material costs and improving the quality and efficiency of production.

Trade unions must be more scrupulous and demand that the managers follow the principles of our social policy.

The struggle for fair wages plays an important role in activating the human factor. In the past all such tasks had not always been fulfilled and thus, the ROH committees in enterprises and factories must expand and upgrade their participation not only in the planning of enterprise subdivision wage regulations and their actual implementation, but above all in controlling their application and effectiveness.

We can give good marks to the efforts of the Socialist Youth League for the focus of its basic organizations on the fulfillment of tasks stemming from the program of accelerated robotization and electronization of our national economy. The achievements of many youth teams have shown that this orientation has opened ample opportunities for young experts.

An objective flaw in young people's own political and existential experience unavoidably underscores the necessity to raise the level of political education of the Socialist Youth League with an active cooperation of our party organizations.

The issue of young people's enjoyment of their leisure time has become increasingly timely and important. Therefore, the Socialist Youth League together with national committees, their cultural institutions and other public organizations must unavoidably pay more attention to the material-technical and cadre base for the planning of programs for the hobbyists. We expect that the basic organizations of the Socialist Youth League will prepare an attractive program for the young people and make every effort to satisfy their various interests.

**Comrades!**

After the 7th and 9th plena of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the CPSL Central Committee, our national committees are facing responsibilities that will have an important part in the restructuring of the economic mechanism and in the process of democratization of our public relations. In fact, they are a school of socialist democracy whose involvement in the further progress of our region is very meaningful. We have every right to emphasize the fact that successful achievements of our national committees depend to a major degree on the work of the communists in elected agencies and in the system of national committees.

Therefore, we underscored the need to upgrade the work of party deputies and of party organizations in national committees. We have reviewed their activity regularly on the level of the party's kraj and district committees and determined that their performance is improving gradually. The performance of the deputies in election districts and their attendance at agency meetings are being assessed more frequently; specific assignments are given to them.

We shall continue to insist that our party groups and organizations at national committees, especially those on the basic level, consistently control the fulfillment of the party's decisions.

For better and closer cooperation of the state administration and public services it is particularly important to organize national committees in central communities. Their establishment has met with success.

In the next stage, we must upgrade the political standard and expertise of our officials and of the apparatus, expand their authority, enforce it in dealings with enterprises and organizations, and continue to develop territorial districts.

Citizens' committees play a highly important role in improving the program of national committees, particularly in towns. They must be offered more space for their own initiative.

Experience has confirmed that not everywhere are our national committees applying their authority; that has negatively affected the all-around development of districts, towns and communities. For that reason, we must further improve the sector of services, trade, housing administration and the performance of our state administration. It is our right to expect from the communists in national committees that they will take decisive steps to improve the situation of our public and technical facilities in housing projects. In our view, it is essential for the communists to expand their influence on the planning and protection of the environment, and to urge consistently our citizens and organization that they be responsible in fulfilling their duties.

Comrades!

The party's department of security and legal policies fulfilled its tasks in the past period with relative success. Among its accomplishments is the fact that criminality has not increased and that criminal proceedings in all their stages have been accelerated and improved. Most attention was paid to the protection of our socialist economy. The adopted measures notwithstanding, serious cases of theft of property in socialist ownership were reported in our region. The 17th Congress urged all our society to be concerned about observation of laws and compliance with them, and thus, that it fight against crime. The importance of this task was underscored by the plena of the 7th and 9th CPCZ Central Committee. For that reason, we consider it absolutely essential for our economic agencies, and state and public organizations to continue and intensify their cooperation with the agencies of the National Security Corps, courts and prosecutors. In our view, effective political education and better social and legal information are essential. All forms of preventive education must be used and a struggle for complete compliance with socialist laws must be waged by every public sector. In this conjunction, the principles articulated in the Letter by the

Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of 1983 are a postulate of the highest significance, as confirmed by the decision in the Babinsky case which was a very urgent reminder that the level and effectiveness of control must be substantially raised in all political and administrative operations.

Protection of our socialist economy from fire and accidents requires constant attention. For example, in the past 2 years alone losses caused by fires amounted to more than Kcs 40 million. Therefore, safety and anti-fire regulations must be strictly observed in every place of work and their violations must meet with strict punishment.

The military policy reported good results for the past years. Paramilitary training of workers and young people was stepped up and as a result, the citizens' awareness and preparedness and the attitude of organizations to paramilitary training were raised to a higher level.

Nevertheless, the efficiency of individual programs in paramilitary training has not improved. In addition, we note shortcomings in comprehensive care for recruits, in the civil defense training of our citizens, and in the agenda of commissions for military training at national committees.

As armed units of the party and a specific component of our paramilitary system, People's Militia plays a vital part in the fulfillment of our tasks. Its further development and better preparedness demand that the instruction by the Central staff of People's Militia of the CSSR, which specified the decisions of the Congress and the tasks of individual training periods, be consistently implemented.

Comrades!

This review of the achievements of the party's kraj organization over the past 2 years shows that despite successful accomplishments we have not always come to grips with the tasks adopted by the previous conference. All party agencies and organizations must learn their lessons from these shortcomings and adopt effective measures to fulfill successfully the decisions of the 17 CPCZ congress and of the Eighth 5-Year Plan in our region.

The tasks which we will face in the upcoming stage, particularly in connection with the restructuring of our society, call for new approaches, style, forms and methods of work. Therefore, on every level of the building of our party we must carefully consider what has become outdated, what must be discarded, what can help us, and what needs to be further developed. We are interested in methods of work that can galvanize all communists and mobilize people's creativity for further advancements of our region and of our society as a whole.

We realize that it will not be easy to enforce these profound changes in every area of our public and economic life. It will require a great deal of energy, persistence and courage, but we have no other alternative.

It is our conviction that under the guidance of our party agencies and organizations, and with all our working people supporting us, we shall successfully master the tasks which will be adopted by this kraj conference.

We are building on the foundation of previous accomplishments and on the party's authority in our region. Let us promote a creative atmosphere in our party organizations and in every place of work so that our fulfillment of the tasks of acceleration of the socioeconomic development and of the restructuring in our region may be crowned with success.

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**New Forms of Party Work Demanded**  
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[Article by Antonin Kolomaznik: "On Questions of Improving the Quality of Party Cadre Policy"]

[Text] Implementation of the strategy of accelerating economic and social development, comprehensive social restructuring, requires us to proceed simultaneously and in parallel along three basic lines—improving the system of management, elevating the role of work collectives, and increasing the requirements levied upon cadres. Seen from these standpoints, cadre policy is the decisive link in fulfilling all of the functions of the party. It represents the focal point and, at the same time, the complexity of the theoretical understanding and practical implementation of the leading role of the party in society.

The socialist countries are faced with the historic task of great revolutionary impact, mastery of which is possible only under the leadership of the revolutionary party, on the basis of the creative and consistent fulfillment of its mission during the present era, by the universal prosecution of its leading role. This places such fundamental questions as the position and role of the party in society and new methods of prosecuting democratic centralism in a new light. During a time of deep social changes, where the daily agenda includes the inevitability of a greater degree of dynamism in social movement, requirements levied upon the capability of the party are growing from a number of viewpoints: the party is required to be the initiator of the social program, the guarantor of its social orientation; the party must become the generator of the struggle against that which is old and out-of-date to be replaced by the prosecution of that which is new; it must become the catalyst of ideological refinement, of the search for optimum forms of work and life; it must be the example, model, and the prototype of the future for the other links of the socialist organism. This specific

position is the expression of all fundamental party functions formulated by Lenin and further specified in the theory and practice of the world communist movement.

The historical experiences of the CPCZ, the CPSU, and the other fraternal parties show the fundamental importance of the ability of the party to stand at the head of revolutionary events and deep social changes, to play an avant-garde role, to lead the masses, to further develop the political capital of the confidence and support of the masses, gained in previous struggles. This requires thorough and consistent theoretical and political preparedness to master the tasks of each new epoch by restructuring its own activities, content, style, and method of its work, by perfecting its political-organizational, ideological, and cadre work. This deep truth applies doubly under contemporary conditions, at a time when the party is embarking upon a more effective fulfillment of its functions following the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. Here, the ideas expressed by M. Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, at the meeting of political workers of the Central Committee of the party apply fully, namely that "...revolutionary tasks demand new approaches, new solutions, and new practical actions. The Communist Party, whose strength lies in ideological and action unity, in its close contacts with the people, stands at the head of this social movement, which is occurring even in other socialist countries and, primarily in the Soviet Union."

A return to Lenin's political legacy requires a far more critical evaluation of the existing level of theoretical work in the region of party development than has been the case heretofore. It will be necessary to contemplate more deeply such important questions as the methods of managing specialized work sites dealing with these problems by assigning the highest party organs, questions dealing with the selection and qualifications of people in these important sectors, questions pertaining to the more effective division of labor between party research and the other links of the political system, etc.

The current situation—all the more so in the light of experiences of the CPSU and other fraternal parties—points to the extraordinary importance of timely theoretical preparation on the part of the party to perfect its own activities in programmatic, organizational, ideological, and cadre work. The sooner manifestations of serious backwardness in this sector are overcome, the more we can avoid improvisation and happenstance, the tighter and more firmly will party policy and cadre policy itself be supported by deep scientific findings.

In connection with the need to think about and specify the prerequisites for the mastery of serious problems of a revolutionary character, it is essential to apply new viewpoints to the legalities, principles, and standards of party life. The changing of scientific research pertaining to these questions by applications of propagandistic explanations, continues to persist; the principled



approach toward generally valid principles of party development is being replaced by inanimate abstract dogmas. Many a time from the standpoint of practice, the necessary revision of historically transient organizational forms and methods of work is conducted in a cyclical manner. It is maximally necessary to cease the practice of explaining negative phenomena, shortcomings, and mistakes in work only as some kind of deviation from correct positions, to abandon the understanding of their rectification as a mere return to the past, as a "renewal" of that which occurred yesterday. On the contrary, current requirements of life demand the seeking of objective and subjective sources for the reasons why deformations and deviations occur and demand the provision of guarantees against repeating old mistakes in new guises. The path toward seeking a truthful view of these and other questions calls for the crossing of the narrow national framework of investigating these problems, for comparison of experiences gathered in numerous countries.

Successful fulfillment of the adopted strategy requires a substantial increase in the role of the human factor on the basis of the search and utilization of new ways for developing the creative activities of the masses in all areas of life, requires the active participation of millions of people acting consciously, with interest, and with responsibility as responsible managers. This will be a matter of seeing to it that all sectors allow the full manifestation, development, and intensification of the massive opportunities and advantages of socialism.

This is also true of the party, pertaining to the more precise stipulation of its role in society and in the division of labor within the entire political system, pertaining to the content and style of its activities in fulfilling all of its political functions.

The documents of the 17th congress and the subsequent sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, particularly the ninth session, devote increased attention to the more effective application of individual functions the party must perform with respect to restructuring. The more detailed and universal clarification of these objective tendencies should be the object of deeper theoretical investigation. The current epoch demands not only a qualitative advance in fulfilling all functions, but stresses even their unity and mutual interdependence. The ongoing processes can be briefly expressed by the following trends:

1. Requirements for the application of the cognitive and programmatic functions of the party in leading society, requirements for its capability to formulate contemporary ideals of the communist movement and the responsibility for their fulfillment are growing rapidly.

2. The restructuring of the economy and of other areas of social life is changing the content of the organizational functions of the party and the methods for their prosecution. The activation of all links of the political system

and the abandonment of efforts to replace them is increasingly becoming the task of party organs and Communists.

3. Cadre policy as a fundamental link of organizational work is taking on extraordinary importance. In conjunction with the process of democratization and increased independence of basic links, requirements levied upon cadre work and its application in close conjunction with extraparty organs and work collectives are also growing.

4. The role of the human factor, the subjective factor, is continuing to grow and, in this regard, requirements levied upon the fulfillment of the ideological-educational functions of the party are increasing.

5. Life is bringing to the fore the necessity to stress the party's control function, not only from the standpoint of the struggle against negative phenomena of all types, but also with respect to the timely forestalling of shortcomings and the tenacious utilization of positive experiences.

6. The needs to strengthen the unity of the communist movement, of the joint approaches of communist parties within the socialist countries, stress the inevitability of a deeper understanding of the unity of the national and international function of the party under conditions of full equality enjoyed by all components of the communist movement.

The fulfillment of all functions of the party requires that the points of departure be the ties between the level of the internal life of the party and its capabilities to effectively fulfill its avant-garde role in society. From this standpoint, it is necessary to formulate the goals of party cadre policy anew, particularly the criteria governing the capabilities of the party as a whole and its organs, organizations, and individual members to meet the higher requirements levied upon programmatic, organizational, ideological-educational, and control activities.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPCZ dealing with improving the quality of cadre policy, as approved by the seventh session, encompasses all existing results and experiences in this area and proceeds from the knowledge that "qualitatively new and revolutionary requirements demand the further perfection of cadre work on the basis of the creative development of Leninist principles of cadre policy, which continues to be one of the principal instruments for applying the leading role of the party and a condition for the dynamic development of society."

A very important point of departure for establishing the role of cadre policy is the conclusion regarding the utilization of the broad social base of society, of the educational level and capabilities of the working class, of the cooperative farm movement, and of the intelligentsia, of all strata of working people, the promotion of the

most conscientious and best-prepared workers into leading functions, the systematic development of the creative activity of people, their direct participation in solving questions involved in the life of society. It is the goal of cadre policy to constantly assure that people having the requisite class-political, specialized, moral, and character traits who are devoted to socialism and are capable of making decisions and of creatively realizing the policies of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the socialist state to lead work collectives and be supported by them stand at the head of all links of party, state, economic, and social activities.

The cardinal question of accelerating socioeconomic development revolves around the orientation toward a substantial improvement in the quality of the entire system of management and lies in the unity of its content, methodological, organizational, and cadre aspects. The idea of the inevitability to unify the approach in perfecting the management of society and, at the same time, cadre policy itself, was expressed as early as the session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ in November of 1974. For a number of reasons, however, it remained merely a program thesis without any required practical conclusions being drawn from it, either with respect to changes in the area of management or with respect to cadre work. In that key moment, there was a chance of effecting a rapid turnaround toward a more economical, more efficient, and more dynamically developing economy under the complicated conditions created by the world energy and raw materials crisis. Historical science will have to address the objective and subjective reasons as to why this did not occur.

Following the 17th Congress of the CPCZ, and particularly following the seventh session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, the conclusion regarding the unification of the program of changes in the management sphere and in cadre policy became the foundation for the program of economic reforms. This is attested to by the fact that, at the session, two mutually supportive documents were adopted—the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the Comprehensive Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism in the CSSR and Its Assurance and the Resolution of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on the Improvement of Cadre Policy.

The practical implementation of the resolutions adopted requires party organs at all levels to correctly see the relationship between the economic policy of the party and the state, the division of labor between central organs and the cost-accounting (khozraschet) sphere. It is precisely here that many harmful concepts and stereotypes in applying the leading role of the party survive from the past.

To deal on the political level with the economy as the main sphere and main condition for social progress means dealing, primarily, with people, with the role played by the subjective factor. The practice of supplanting state and economic organs, of taking over their role

in solving substantive, specialized affairs, weakens the care exerted by party organizations in their work with cadres, particularly with respect to their education. The 17th Congress of the CPCZ adopted a fundamental position in this regard: "The application of the leading role of the party demands that the party political leadership not mix in with the specific management functions of the state and economic sectors. This is a matter of different functions and their interchange must not be permitted. However, in practice we are witnesses to the fact that some party organs and organizations incorrectly take upon themselves tasks and obligations usually performed by state organs and economic organs. This does not strengthen the leading role of the party, but rather makes it more shallow. The demanding nature and complexity of the new tasks requires that attention be paid to strengthening the leading role of the party and, at the same time, to the increase in responsibility and to creating room for the activities of state, economic, and social organs and institutions and requires the strengthened party control of their actions."

The question arises why the practices of taking on the tasks executed by extraparty organs and organizations, why the duplication of their activities in terms of content and methods of work, why the supplanting of their missions and functions and the actual taking on of their responsibilities has become so widespread in party work? The basis for these deformations and one-sided actions lies in the very theoretical unclarity pertaining to the division of labor within the political system and in the inadequately accurate outlining of the relationships between its individual components. It is no coincidence that the theoretical front did not express itself a great deal with regard to this important political question; it is no coincidence that theoretical analyses of historical party experiences over the last 4 decades do not exist. Circumvention, disregard, neglect, and, on the other hand, propagandistically purposeful and one-sided explanations of these problems, exerted a negative influence on the thinking and actions of party organs and officials. Incorrect interpretations of generally correct principles governing the growth of the leading role of the party were, in not a few cases, a defense for such approaches which distorted the boundaries between the approach of party, economic, and state organs, which led to the confusion of requirements to be specific and to be substantive, to the replacement of political viewpoints by specialized viewpoints, technical-organizational views, and technological matters. Many a party organization lived more by solving problems involved in the supplier-consumer relationship, by assuring subdeliveries and taking care of additional purely production matters than by developing political work among people, by analyzing opinion levels, by forming comradely relationships in thinking and in the way of life of the people. The language used by party officials was frequently not different from the language of economic workers. Frequently, this practice was defended by claiming that without the pressure of party organizations, without their operational incursions,

and even without the threats of party punishment the normal functioning of economic organizations could not be assured. In individual cases, the above-mentioned approach could have a certain justification but only as an extremely temporary extraordinary device. But as a system of party work it is unjustifiable and harmful—and this is true for both sides.

This approach diverts the party from its principal political mission, it makes it impossible for it to effectively and correctly apply the right to exert controls and to focus its attention primarily on the all-round training of economic cadres and entire work collectives. Leading economic managers lose their own initiative, they do not perceive themselves as being sufficiently responsible to the party and to the working people and rely on the authority of party organs and hide behind them. The need to overcome these practices was mentioned at the seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ. The political leadership of society demands the strengthening of the role of initiative and responsibility on the part of state and economic organs, the organs and organizations of the National Front. Party organs and organizations cannot take over these functions, nor can they rid themselves of being responsible for this situation. This will involve the development of instruments of political leadership, the application of methods necessary to achieve the specified goals. Party organs and organizations must primarily be active where the party is irreplaceable, in political and ideological activity, in the formation of concepts, in the control of fulfillment of resolutions, and in their work with cadres.

One of the main instruments—in certain respects, the decisive instrument—for applying the leading role of the party is correct, tenacious, and principled cadre policy. Experiences show that the best of resolutions without cadre assurance do not bring about positive changes. And what is more, the inseparable component of each important program must be a corresponding evaluation of the cadre situation, the execution of essential cadre changes, and the embarking upon the necessary directions for increasing political, specialized, and moral preparedness on the part of managers and rank-and-file workers.

The restructuring of the style of cadre work will demand the removal from the practices of party organs of deeply rooted parochial approaches to cadre policy, its separation from the objective requirements of programmatic and organizational tasks, its restriction to a mere staffing of functions.

A valuable source for lessons on how to closely connect cadre work with the overall policies of the party are particularly the works of Lenin in the last years of his life, which represent the core of his legacy to his successors and to those who would continue his work.

Practical fulfillment of the ideas expressed in the resolutions of the seventh session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ on improving the quality of cadre policy, as well as other impulses dealing with this question, which were heard at the ninth session of the Central Committee, will require—as will approaches in other sectors, by the way—a deeper knowledge and broader utilization of the legacy of Lenin, particularly of the conclusions he drew from the analyses of experiences during the first years of the development of socialism. This is not only true of his expressly formulated principles of cadre policy, but equally so of his practical skill in applying them in his relationships with individual coworkers and to the concrete tasks of party work under the specific conditions which existed in each epoch. Here, he also proceeded from the principle that the decisive conditions for success are the harmony between the objective requirements of the times and the readiness of the party to be equal to the requirements of those times, to constantly raise the quality of individuals at the top and at the bottom to the levels of changing needs.

We owe something to this Leninist approach in many a case. The view that cadres should be selected for responsible office not on the basis of practical demonstrated abilities to fully master the substance and act as a guarantee for rapid rises in the entrusted sector, but according to views which consider the absence of any weaknesses and negative human characteristics, has become widespread. This is based on unrealistic concepts which envisage the existence of absolutely perfect people without stronger or weaker sides, without victories or losses, without successes and failures in life, people who would always fulfill their tasks in any sector, under any kind of circumstances.

Life teaches us that there are unusually few outstanding personalities with universal capabilities; an analysis of task fulfillment in many sector of social life show serious weaknesses, but cadre characterizations pay little attention to these facts. It is forgotten that cadre work must be understood as individual work involving people, but, at the same time, must be viewed as a matter of forming entire leadership systems, entire management collectives. Collective leadership requires not only decision-making in a group, but also such a composition of the group which would make it fully competent as a whole, which would make it politically, professionally, and morally mature. This is a matter of having individual positions within the management system staffed in accordance with the character of the functions, in harmony with the specific capabilities of people. This also calls for the inadequate experiences or lesser organizational capabilities of individuals to be compensated for by the strong sides manifested by their fellow workers, where necessary. Even here it will be necessary to see to practical experiences, to publicize them, and to utilize them tenaciously. This is not merely a question of higher action capability and greater sharing, but of creating healthy comradely relationships, of averting the danger of indifference, suspicion, lack of confidence, envy, which constitute a serious brake upon social work.



We have become accustomed to frequently repeating the words that every time requires a certain type of people, their specific qualities and characteristics, and special prerequisites. This is, for the time being, not being sufficiently thought through and practically applied in selecting and deploying people, in determining the most suitable moment for their taking up their functions and for leaving these functions. The skill to make timely selection of certain people for functions according to objective needs and to make equally timely provisions for their transfer in situations where tasks are changing and they are not up to them is among the politically most complicated and most sensitive questions involved in party work. The practice has become widespread—and its causes will have to be universally judged—whereby we select a person for a specific function once and for all and that, as long as he does not commit serious mistakes, he allegedly has the right to remain in this function for life or he can be transferred upward or to a position at the same level, that he cannot and must not lose anything from the social or material standpoint. Such a concept regarding the stability of cadres in natural fact means a restriction of the healthy movement of cadres which benefits the party and the individual. People who have become accustomed to regarding the world and judging matters from the restricted viewpoint of a virtually inherited function are not capable of recognizing new processes, of implementing principled policies, of manifesting the necessary degree of criticism, and of creatively contributing to the common good. The stagnation of entire social sectors, the source of the brake mechanism, lies in the stagnation of cadres.

Stipulation of the optimum length of service in a function at a certain level of management—both with respect to objective and also subjective requirements of the individual—represents an important political decision. It is a question whether a unified standard should be applied to all or whether possible exceptions should be permitted. We should judge the problem of the so-called rotation of cadres together with solutions of the problem represented by the question of the aggregation of functions.

Based on positive but also negative experiences, based on the analysis of long-term trends in cadre work, the seventh session of the Central Committee of the CPCZ drew a number of conclusions aimed at making the criteria for cadres, particularly their moral-political characteristics, more precise. It was clearly stressed that the party will support highly efficient cadres, who take an active part in the realization of the strategic line requiring the acceleration of socioeconomic development, in the process of restructuring and democratization of all areas of social life, whose actions are commensurate with the requirement that the higher the function, the higher are the requirements for exemplary action. We cannot have any illusions that everyone will immediately understand everything; everyone must be given the chance and opportunity to apply his capabilities and to prove his readiness to raise the level of his own work and the work

of the collective entrusted to him. The opportunities for adapting to new conditions are broad; it is not possible to manage to get by with a mere tendentious adaptation, with giving formal approval.

Democratism also forms the essential foundation and constitute the means to accelerated socioeconomic development in the cadre area as well. The deepening of democratism in cadre work takes many forms and has many manifestations. Today, it remains true for the future that it is necessary even in cadre policy to apply the leading role of the party. Numerous times in the past this permanently valid principle was explained mechanically and in a sectarian way, for example, by claiming that Communists had an exclusive right to hold leading functions, as the rejection of possibilities or at least the lack of desire to involve those without affiliation and members of other political parties. Such an approach is harmful, particularly in that it substantially narrows the utilization of the broad base of society, it restricts the promotion of the most conscientious and best-prepared workers into office. Under conditions where we are concerned with the development of the systematic creative activity of people, this results in considerable political losses and does not strengthen, but rather weakens the authority of the party as a result.

In this connection, it would be useful to undertake a more detailed analysis of the current relationships between communists and those without party affiliation, to identify the differences between members and non-members from the standpoint of their position and role in society, and to characterize the differences in political awareness and social activity.

Together with the growth of the requirements for specialized qualification on the part of people, particularly where their active participation in assuring scientific-technical progress is concerned, political preparedness does not lose any of its significance. However, this criterion cannot be narrowed down to mere political organization capabilities, to avowing party policies. The fundamental political viewpoint for judging cadres is and must be their practical contribution to the intensification of the national economy, to making production and all work more efficient.

The evaluation of cadres, particularly the system of periodic comprehensive evaluation, has become an important link in the activities of party organs over the past 15 years. In the future, there will have to be a more resolute overcoming of the manifestations of formalism, of seasonality, of self-serving decisions and paper shuffling in its implementation. An open, critical, and self-critical approach, the consistent application of principled all-societal viewpoints, emphasis on specific conclusions, the use of competitions, certification, elections and other forms of verifying the suitability of people to undertake certain functions, as well as the

consistent application of the principle of remuneration according to work performed, will have to carry a far greater weight than was the case heretofore.

The thought of combining comprehensive evaluations with certifications indicates the long-term direction of the further development in cadre work. Together with this question, it is necessary to fundamentally reevaluate the method of work involving cadre reserves—a method which suffers from administrative procedures and exerts little motivation, both upon people proposed for office and also on other workers. The substitution of actual evaluation of people by “marking them” and “branding them” once and for all, both in the positive sense and also in the negative sense, should become totally unacceptable as a practice.

The sense of party work is not to assure the “staffing” of a certain position or to seek well-paid work for certain people at any price and without conflict, perhaps even by way of distorting the characteristics of the person proposed for the office, but precisely to have them contribute through their specific share to the fulfillment of tasks in a given sector.

Practice has shown in recent years the necessity to judge the moral quality of cadres more decisively and more fundamentally. The broad echo of public criticism in cases where socialist morality has been violated, particularly cases involving the abuse of entrusted authority for personal benefit, violations of party statutes and legality, manifestations of immodesty and superiority, manifestations of bureaucratism and the falsification of results, have shown the extraordinarily political importance of this question. Together with more severe persecution of these antisocial manifestations, it will be necessary to confront them with the barrier of timely criticism at the onset, to exert more consistent control from below, as well as from above. A means for this is also the open, critical uncovering of weaknesses, the public condemnation of incorrect, illegal, and immoral actions on the part of cadres. This should also be used to strengthen the unity of the party and the people. Principled appearances and actions should serve as an example to others, should strengthen the authority and attractiveness of the party in society.

A principled party policy demands that the overall body of party work be restructured in this key region; a transition must be made from the mere enunciation of individual correct principles and criteria for forming the entire system of work involving cadres. This places at the fore the understanding of cadre work as an organic component of the overall mechanism through which the party functions, as the prerequisite for the fulfillment of all its functions within society. All of this multiplies the necessity to be rid of narrowly parochial, propagandistic, or practicistic approaches.

One of the characteristics of the policy of social restructuring is the stressing of the role of the subjective factor across its entire structure—from the role of the working masses, the concrete specification of the historic mission of the working class, and contemporary forms of fulfilling the leading role of the party through the role played by leading cadres and individuals in general. This brings to the fore all the more the need—also in conjunction with changes in the entire management mechanism which never functions in and of itself automatically, but only through the actions of people—to not understand cadre work as a mere aggregation of practical steps and specific methods involved in working with people, but to see cadre, social, and personnel programs as the inseparable component of short-term, medium-term, and long-term plans for socioeconomic development.

The main idea behind the ninth session—on the need to begin restructuring the party itself—applies in all spheres of party work and all the more in the cadre area.

05911

**Delays in Restructuring Cause Dismay**  
24000141b Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech  
17 Jun 88 p 1

[Article by Ludmila Kypťová: “We Cannot Wait for Restructuring”]

[Text] Restructuring—this word is clearly the most frequently used in our language today. We hear about it on the radio and on television, we read about it in the newspapers, we speak of it at the workplace and at home, we debate it while sitting in a coffeehouse and while riding on an overcrowded Prague streetcar.... In short, we hear about it from all sides and in all possible connections—until, sometimes, a person can slowly feel that “restructuring” has become some kind of modern magic formula which can even be misused (if that were to suit someone).

As journalists, we occasionally attend various working consultations and meetings with economic workers: we go—as they say—into the field. And, unfortunately, at such times, in such sessions and consultations, we are frequently compelled to hear that the plant (enterprise, organization, institute, etc.) is momentarily not doing well because it is necessary to overcome a mass of objective difficulties, but that all will soon change for the better or even the best “once restructuring arrives....” Only—how is restructuring of the economic mechanism, restructuring of the entire society expected to eliminate entrenched disorders and shortcomings merely by waving the magic wand? Mistakes which have accumulated over the years cannot, after all, be erased as readily as a school blackboard. All such visions are extremely naive—and anyway, what must a blue-collar worker or a designer in the given enterprise be thinking following such a statement when improvements in the guise of

"restructuring" are promised him by a person who could have avoided the problems of the moment in his economic function of many years, but has not done so?...

Or let us take an entirely opposite and equally extreme case. It took place recently in one of Prague's self-service food stores: Toward the evening of a weekday, the milk ran out and an older woman who asked the manager for the reasons for the shortage received the answer: "Oh, dear lady, this will most likely [be remedied] by restructuring...."

What can one say to such a rude excuse? Is it to be taken as a joke? Restructuring is a word which arose from the verb "to rebuild," in other words, to rework something, to change it. Every change naturally is also accompanied by certain risks, possible complications and conflicts—this is certainly true. But to think (or not to think and only to articulate it) that the changes which our entire society is living through at present, fundamental changes in the economic system, were the cause for a shortage of milk to show up in some store somewhere—this is no longer merely absurd. Why not call things by their proper names—and why not call a disorderly mess (and the case involving the milk was, after all, nothing other than that) a disorderly mess?

It cannot be denied that the Czechoslovak economy (in comparison with the period of the 7th Five-Year Plan) has progressed a pace again; but, at the same time, it is not possible not to see the masses of shortcomings, errors, and disorderly messes which made our lives more complicated last year (and some of them did so quite expressly).

First of all, we were not successful in raising the national income by the planned 3 percentage points, but only by 2.2 percent—which represents a shortfall of roughly Kcs 5 billion for the state treasury. And to have or not to have such a sum at our disposal is already something to know. And it is no secret that following the problems involved in plan fulfillment for 1986, the plan for last year was somewhat adjusted—and still a good third of all economic organizations remained hanging and failed to fulfill the planned targets.

Certainly, one could find a few such cases where it is possible to a certain extent to excuse the results of last year's management by stating that the enterprise involved began to experiment—and got into difficulties perhaps due to the fault of sub-suppliers. It is possible even to find enterprises which did not measure up to the plan because the superior economic production unit allocated them tasks which were "above their conditions" (perhaps in an effort to keep the enterprise from developing an appetite for seceding from the greater enterprise and becoming independent as a state enterprise—as is true of the plans for some organizations for this year). But it remains a fact that the majority of economic organizations who did not do their best last year have shortcomings which are purely subjective in

character: primarily, it is the enterprise itself that makes a decision as to how much material, energy, and raw materials it needs and, thus, how high its production costs will be; it is primarily the enterprise itself which decides on the quality of its products which it delivers to the market and with which it wants to be successful beyond the borders of our country. And as long as the enterprise produces scrap, products which are not modern, obsolete, and defective—virtually nothing can excuse it.

And of all the excuses made, waiting for restructuring can be recognized as an excuse to the least extent.

We rightfully expect a lot from restructuring; we promise ourselves that a mass of existing abuses and disorders will disappear—and this will most certainly be the case. But things will not move from well-worn tracks on their own volition as if we were, for example, changing overcoats. Things will not go that easily—this is already apparently clear to all our enterprises which, in a matter of 2 weeks (precisely effective 1 July) will step out into life with a new firm as a state enterprise. This will encompass roughly one-third of all existing national enterprises, concerns, or specialized establishments (for the present, we have roughly 1,716 of them), as well as some economic production units and plants—for these, for all, the law on state enterprises, which was approved by Parliament this week, will already apply. What will happen to the other enterprises, and particularly to the mammoth economic production units—that is what we will have to wait for for some time to come yet. However, one thing is certain: We cannot ossify halfway. And we also cannot ease up or even back away from the principles of restructuring.

05911

**State's Attitude Toward Research Criticized**  
*24000140 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech*  
27 Jun 88 p 5

[Article by Dr Boris Valnicek, doctor of sciences: "What Impedes Research Work"]

[Text] The principle of progress is knowledge of the unknown and utilization of the knowledge gained for the development of society, which is the essence of scientific work. However, it would seem that, on the one hand, much is required of science; on the other, science and its requirements are being undervalued. Just as a blue-collar worker needs a good machine, a good supply of materials, and many other conditions to be able to work well, so does the scientific worker. From this standpoint, not all is well in our country. What is it that impedes scientific work and lowers its quality?

In the first place, it is the confusion of concepts—most frequently of science, research, and development. These concepts must be rendered more precisely to promote the uniformity of the way in which they are perceived.



Research is a broader concept: We speak of scientific research which is, essentially, identical with the concept of science and basic research, and of applied research, research which is utilized. The task of scientific research (be it basic or investigative) is the seeking of knowledge regarding new facts, possibly connected with the search for and utilization of new methods of work. The task of applied research is the utilization of scientific findings and methods in production, in practice, and it is substantially identical with technical development.

In view of the fact that all research activity in Czechoslovakia is generally lumped into the concept of the scientific research base, the above-mentioned differences become lost and a situation develops in which the possible criticism of the efficiency of research impacts on all organizations equally, despite the fact that it is known that in the area of basic research one cannot expect economic efficiency directly—something which is the goal and the mission of applied research. Because basic and applied research in our country are financed from the state budget, a linear division is the immediate result. Basic research is disadvantaged, since it cannot be financed in any other way except from the state budget, while applied research has the possibility of being financed through the quantity of orders from production and can thus improve its situation. Incidentally, applied research in other developed nations is financed from the capital of production enterprises which, in the economic system based on self-financing, have a direct interest in utilizing the results of this research for modernizing production and products.

Another problem is the opportunity to publish and the confrontation of research results. In scientific work, the most frequent results involve a new piece of knowledge. It can be an observed fact, an identified law, a principle, a method. The circle of specialists in a country—with the exception of the superpowers—is generally very small. For this reason, the results of scientific work are published in specialized journals or compendia, normally in English and Russian. In other words, it is necessary to follow this literature and to the extent we do not do so, the danger of duplication and the expenditure of unnecessary work and funds arises. However, it is necessary to have access to this literature—and the latter is constantly more difficult, particularly with regard to literature originating in hard-currency areas, since the funds allocated for its purchase are constantly declining.

An essential condition for the opportunity to publish and confront our own findings with those of others is participation in scientific conferences, symposiums, and congresses. There, the direct exchange of findings and the initiation of personal contacts is possible which is absolutely essential in scientific work. However, our participation at these meetings is more an exception than the rule.

The predominant majority of research work projects make the use of instrument equipment essential. Requirements for these instruments grow by extraordinary methods in comparison with the times, even the

relatively recent times. It must also be said that instrument technology in socialist countries is at such a level which is rarely commensurate with the requirements of modern science. This is true, for example, even of such current electronic devices as oscilloscopes. We only have two basic possibilities: either purchase from abroad, particularly from hard-currency regions—or to manufacture the devices ourselves. In the first case, we encounter shortages of foreign exchange (sometimes even embargoes), but primarily the extremely ponderous organization of our foreign trade. Even in a case where the foreign supplier may have a one month delivery deadline, our foreign trade can require as much as a year to realize this transaction. Such work on the part of foreign trade enterprises is a brake upon scientific work and looms as an unnecessary connecting link.

In the event that the scientific work site might be creating an experimental device with its own forces, we encounter similar difficulties. Because this is frequently a matter of a piece of key and unique equipment, there is the need to obtain many parts and materials. As long as these parts and materials are imported, the same is true for them as is true for machinery. If it is a matter of domestic material, we encounter accounting regulations, limited quantities, and planning requirements which sometimes have to be accomplished for 2 years in advance. Predominantly, what is required are small quantities of materials; however, they are needed immediately or very soon. It is understandable that, say, an automobile plant must plan its material requirements over a long period of time in advance because it needs large quantities of it. However, why is the same required of scientific workplaces? In these cases, the distribution links loom as superfluous organizations. The requirements of research—both basic and applied—should be subjected to provisions governing direct deliveries from enterprises, they should be exempt from material resources and allocations balances, and scientific facilities should be permitted to make purchases in "sublimit" quantities.

There are numerous examples of the unsuitable application of generally applicable principles and regulations. In the aggregate, we can call this the bureaucratic enslavement of science which lacks sufficient forces to encompass all of this and to defend itself. This area includes, for example, even the question of the liquidation of old and superfluous materials and installations. Directives continue to apply according to which it is necessary to first offer useless material or equipment to other organizations within one's own area, then to all other socialist organizations where it could be utilized, and only if there is no documentable interest can the items be disposed of. Rather than undertake this Anabasis, the scientific work site would prefer not to liquidate anything. And so we have instruments in our inventory which have long since ceased to be useful and are not utilized, instruments which frequently do not even have museum value, which are carried on the books at increasing values (write-offs do not exist as is the case in economic organizations),

and the impression arises that scientific work sites are equipped with instruments having high value and actually do not need anything. And given the current rate of development in technology, some instruments are already unsuitable and obsolete after 5 years.

The shortage of apartments for young workers at institutes impacts with particular severity upon the prospects of our scientific efforts, because neither funds nor capacities are available for housing construction. And the income of employees of scientific institutes are definitely not such that they could embark on any kind of construction themselves. In these connections, the question arises whether it would not be of maximum usefulness to build a scientific town instead of building ostentatious administrative buildings for some commercial organizations where it might be possible to purposefully concentrate both institutes and dwelling facilities, as is customarily the case in other developed countries? From this viewpoint, the situation of our Astronomical Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences at Ondrejov is extraordinarily difficult.

A painful question is posed by the salaries of employees of the scientific work sites of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The personnel staffing of the individual institutes is directly connected with this problem. Even though fundamentally the same wage scale applies at work sites devoted to basic research of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and those engaged in applied research, there are differences in the size of salaries and bonuses; whereas in the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences these rewards and bonuses amount to 10 percent of the annual income with difficulty, more than 20 percent is not an exception elsewhere. While scientific workers are prepared to work for minimum salaries, this applies to "fans" of their disciplines; the situation in the other employee categories in science—technicians, technical-scientific workers, but particularly blue-collar workers—is substantially more complicated. No wonder that these people are not clamoring to work at basic research sites. This is detrimental to the work because modern research requires a substantial input from technological and industrial organization.

05911

**Women's Rights Defended, Reaffirmed**  
24000116 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech  
No 6, 1988 pp 47-59

[Article by Miroslava Solcova: "Current Issues of Women and the Family"]

[Excerpt] As a specific social group, the family facilitates the creation of both an intimate and social environment for daily life. It meets our need for social interaction, and provides for acquiring and keeping ethical and moral values. It is just as significant for the formation of a socialist personality as are work collectives. The overall social development of society encompasses family life,

meaning that social objectives and the quality of life have a significant impact at the family level. The reverse is also true. Family relationships, the quality of the interaction between family members, have a very concrete impact on social and societal interactions. The current quality of life for women and families, although it seems to be a private concern, has a significant impact on the pace of social development. A recognition of the importance of the dialectical connection between changes in the family and in society affects the quality of specific aspects of social development, substantially contributes to the enhancement of the dialectic of social and economic development, and has a positive impact on the pace of social development. This article concerns an additional relationship that has implications for future social development.

Despite all of our undisputed successes, there are still a number of problems the resolution of which is more and more pressing. These include, for instance, violation of the principle of social justice, not only in the area of compensation for work performed, but also in the non-production sphere of everyday life. One of the areas for the assertion of social justice is the assurance of equal rights for women in our society. Issues related to equal opportunities for female self-expression appear to be far removed or peripheral to the restructuring of society. If one of the objectives of the restructuring of society is to improve and optimize the conditions under which people live and work, on the theory that these improved conditions will facilitate a higher level of personal development, then this will have the greatest impact on the conditions under which women function on a daily basis, because these are the very conditions that are coming "into play" in our efforts to increase the pace and improve the quality of social development. Dealing with these issues will affect three relatively independent areas of the daily lives of women.

The first of these is the participation of women in productive work, including their participation in social decision making, and their participation in political activities. When one considers the fact that women today account for almost 46 percent of the economically active population, then we should at least take a look at the issue of participation of women in socially productive work. The concept of women in professional roles, even though it is at the core of the Marxist-Leninist concept of female emancipation, is still fraught with ideological imprecision. This stems not only from a lack of consciousness of the issue, but also from existing conflicts in its implementation. In the past the oversimplified view prevailed that the emancipation of women in a socialist society was taken care of by political and legal guarantees of equal opportunity and equal rights. During socialist construction the doors of employment opportunities for women were opened, based on the Marxist-Leninist concept of equal rights for women, which had as its basis participation of women in socially productive work. It should also be noted however, that the rapid increase in female employment in our country

also had a historical basis. The increase in employment of women was less an outcome of a fundamental change in the ideological orientation of daily life, and more a response to objective needs. After World War II it was necessary to rebuild the ravaged national economy as soon as possible and get it moving again. The main motivation for the mass entry of women into the work force was the need to produce basic items, including food, along with the excitement generated by the victory of the national, democratic revolution. This source of spontaneous motivation must be emphasized in answer to the views of emigres and bourgeois sociologists who attribute the high employment levels of Czechoslovak women to the low standard of living, which they assert forced our women to take jobs during the period of building socialism. It should also be noted that during the first republic, especially in Bohemia, there was a relatively high level of female employment.

The rapid growth rate in female employment, which reached 37.4 percent in 1948, had a positive impact on the need at that time to expand the work force. The objective need to rebuild the national economy, however, overshadowed the need to reach a conceptual resolution of this issue. At that time there was no comprehensive analysis of the social consequences of the entry of women into the work force, of its consequences both for family life and on the self-realization of the women involved. This is shown by the fact that the majority of women entering the work force at that time were not qualified for the jobs they entered. In most instances women worked as assistants, or in jobs where they could be trained on the job. In the later period of extensive national economic development this simplistic "addition" of female labor to production assembly lines, and at textile and other machines in blue-collar jobs continued for the most part, despite the fact that the educational level of women was increasing. When one considers that women in blue-collar jobs account for 43.6 percent of the female work force, this is a significant social fact.

Reducing women (but not only women) to merely a part of the labor force denied the special characteristics of women that result from the makeup of their organism. We have still not overcome the results of this attitude. It is my view that this, among other things, makes it more difficult to comprehend that the opening of professional opportunities for women is the core of their equal social opportunity. The physio-biological differences between men and women are even today not taken into account in blue-collar jobs. Research on the working conditions of economically active women in the CSSR, which categorized different jobs as heavy, somewhat heavy, and light, found that the same norms in each category applied to both men and women. The physio-biological differences between men and women place women at a disadvantage relative to men when performing physical work, a fact that is then unjustly reflected in their compensation.

A related problem is the violation of the government ordinance forbidding the lifting of items weighing more than 15 kilograms. This ordinance is not being enforced because production units, plants and enterprises have not been procuring the necessary equipment to comply. The lack of equipment at some facilities that employ women means that these women have to perform more physically demanding work. Such jobs include virtually all jobs in the textile and leatherworking industries. Women also work in retail stores that sell food, vegetables, and milk. They also handle packages at post offices, and work as nurses in hospitals and at other facilities where they must perform manual work in excess of that appropriate for their bodies. There are approximately 40,000 women that have been documented as having jobs that force them to handle items that weigh more than the government specified limit. This number does not include nurses. The actual number, however, is larger. The data is distorted in part by deliberate record-keeping practices of most facilities.

Women are also employed at high risk facilities. Many managers ignore this fact, which can however be documented by increases in the numbers of women in such jobs. Between 1976 and 1980 the number of women employed in such jobs increased from 173,000 to 179,000, or 5.7 percent of all working women. Night shifts remain a problem. They are essential, and enterprises offer financial incentives and other benefits to those that work on them (transportation to work, warm meals during the shift, etc.). Data from industrial sectors in the CSR show that some 150,000 women work night shifts, another 10,000 occasionally work a night shift, and that 57,000 work for part of a night shift. The labor code establishes a limit of 150-180 hours of night shift work for women per year, when operating considerations justify it. Research has shown however, that women in production facilities normally work between twice and four times this number of hours annually on night shifts.

The conditions under which many women work undoubtedly account in part for their higher accident and sickness rates. In 1984 the number of on-the-job injuries experienced by men declined by 8 percent, in comparison with 1980. The figure for women declined by only 5.4 percent. The number of fatal injuries for men over the same period declined by 7.6 percent, while the number of fatal injuries for women increased by 11.9 percent. In 1984, 3.1 percent of the male work force was absent due to illness, while the figure for women was 4.2 percent.

This data points to a failure to take into account the characteristics of female workers. A similar situation exists in the area of compensation. It is well known that the previous extensive approach to development was accompanied by a compensation policy that had, and continues to have, certain leveling tendencies. In the past 20 years particularly, Czechoslovakia has become a country with low relative wages. Attempts to equalize class and social differences and thereby to demonstrate



the achievement of a homogeneous society was based on erroneous assumption. The destructive effect of these policies on economic incentives to work is now clear. They represent a gross violation of socialist social justice as a key principle of compensation. Compensation for men and women is, to be sure, *de jure* the same, but in reality nowhere near the same. Statistical analyses have shown that the wage and job description catalogs for female blue-collar jobs do not take into account the neuropsychiatric stress inherent in production-line environments. The high intensity level of that type of work, its monotony, the uniform nature of the physical demands, the uniform body position, and many other factors are not considered. Women are most often assigned to the lowest qualification categories (i.e., categories 1-3, and sometimes 3-6), while men are most often assigned to higher categories.

The continuing differences in numbers of men and women performing higher level managerial functions, with their higher compensation levels, accounts in part for the continuing situation in which the average pay for female employees is about 60 percent of the average pay of male employees. In my view a more detailed analysis would demonstrate the existence of a number of additional internal problems. This is because average numerical data often hides internal differentiation, structural discrepancies, conflicts between phenomena and processes. In other words, one cannot perform a comprehensive social analysis only at the level of average data. Average data can only provide guidelines for the effective social policy that would result from a thorough analysis. They do not have the same predictive value as a comprehensive analysis.

The foregoing examples prove that the highly positive phenomenon represented by female employment also has its own internal problems, and that we can no longer postpone discussion and resolution of these problems. Their existence is preventing us from making full use of the capabilities of our women, and make it difficult to comprehend fully the social significance of the active participation of women in all spheres of social life for the development and emancipation of the female personality.

The problem of fully utilizing female capabilities is not one merely of effectively utilizing their qualifications. It also involves the deeply rooted tradition of not entrusting women with higher level managerial tasks, as well as the inadequate development of the conditions required for women to perform such tasks. There are still too few opportunities for systematic training outside of the school system. Women simply do not have the opportunities to upgrade their qualifications, whether through postgraduate studies, professional exchanges, participation in professional conferences, work abroad, etc. One of the urgent tasks of restructuring is to make the training process an ongoing possibility throughout a professional career. Fundamental changes in the struc-

ture of this process for both men and women is and will continue to be a requirement of the times.

Inadequate numbers of women in managerial positions are a clear manifestation of our misuse of female capabilities, especially for those women with higher qualifications. A study performed in 1980 by the Public Opinion Research Institute showed that 68 percent of the economically active male population worked as ordinary employees, while 80 percent of the economically active female population worked in this capacity. When women are promoted to managerial positions, the positions are almost invariably at lower levels of management. The low percentage of women in higher managerial positions is clearly the result of the fact that women can meet the time demands of such jobs only when they are older, i.e., 45-55 years old, when they no longer have the responsibility of raising minor children. Women of this higher age group, however, for the most part have fewer qualifications than men of the same age and because of the relatively short time that they would be in the job, many are not willing to expend the effort to improve their qualifications. In the 25-35-year-old group, women are now receiving high school educations more frequently than men. In 1987, 59,160 of the 169,011 college students were women. These women have both professional ambition and a desire to manage at higher levels. In the real world, however, they currently cannot realize these aspirations, because they are forced to devote most of their attention to their family, because the only way to meet family needs is to take care of them personally. In other words, these young women are not prevented from achieving higher levels either by their own ambition or their qualification level, but by the current system of household management and meeting the needs of family members, above all children. The progress represented by the increased educational levels of young women are thereby partially or completely negated by a combination of individual ambition and the current priority placed on family values by our society.

Let us examine another characteristic of the lives of working women. The working woman who is a mother of young children for the most part is responsible in her use of the work day. The psycho-social stress that frequently accompanies poorly organized work, downtime caused by the all too frequent shortcomings in supplier-customer relationships, as well as the demands for overtime work caused by uneven plan fulfillment, and numerous other reasons, frequently affects women intensely, and therefore has an impact on her overall psyche and social interactions. A large portion of the responsibilities and work that a woman must perform after her "work day" become the epicenter of her sensitive social reaction to her work environment.

Most women attach greater importance to the outcome of their jobs. They view their work not only in terms of their pay, but are also aware of how they spend their time at work. Empirical studies have shown that all-female

work collectives have a more responsible attitude toward their work than collectives that are all male. It is my view that a well-conceived and effective cost accounting system for compensation and work would be supported by most female work collectives.

A second group of problems concerns working women of child-bearing age. The problems involve the relationship between women as professionals and women as mothers. Under the previous, extensive management system the employment of women in the production process was accompanied by a series of social measures. It would be a mistake to underestimate their benefits, and their increasing scope and impact as the economic strength of the economy has increased. What has been underestimated, however, is the need to deal with the complex problem of maximizing the connection between the role of a woman as mother and her role as an employee, and to put this relationship on a sound scientific footing. We have been accustomed to positively evaluating existing social programs. Even though we have been able theoretically to describe the conflicts between these two roles of women, i.e., as mothers and as professionals, we have still not been able to analyze adequately the nature and serious social consequences of these conflicts. Experience has forced us to deal with some of these implications. The seriousness of this conflict is increased because failure to come to grips with it gives rise to other social conflicts at both the individual and the societal levels.

Discussing the maximization of the connection between the roles of woman as professional and woman as mother does not mean that we are after an oversimplified concept of an absolute resolution of the two roles. Clearly, for some time there will continue to be numerous stresses, conflicts, and disagreements resulting from socioeconomic circumstances of individual families, the social situations in which the family finds itself, as well as the backgrounds of both the partners—their parents, their dreams and values, including the quality of the model used to govern the interactions of family members. Nevertheless, we must work to develop a conceptual approach to dealing with the relationship between these two roles of women. A new, nontraditional, and scientifically founded approach to female roles would make a positive contribution to the elimination of the eternal "competition" between them, and would substantially improve the quality of a number of social situations.

The requisite social analysis of the conflict between the two roles of women must take fully into account both roles. It must balance the advantages of maternal care for children up to 3 years of age with the personal and social losses that result from interrupting one's career path while the woman is caring for her children. Nor should we forget the assertions of numerous pediatricians and child psychologists that it is important for children at an early age to have contact with other children, with a child collective. The current policy of increased economic

incentives involved in the decision by a woman whether or not to remain at home until a child is 2 or 3, appears to be an increase in the demands of society on such women to raise a healthy, psychologically and emotionally balanced child. This current solution, however, does not take fully into account the other side of this process, namely the loss to society that results from the absences of a female worker, and the ineffectiveness that results when a highly qualified woman does not work in her chosen field for an extended period of time. Nor are personal consequences resulting from the forced reduction in social contacts with a broader collective of workers, and the loss of contact with one's chosen profession sufficiently considered. This affects not only professionally trained women, but also women in blue-collar jobs, in the sense that they may lose their manual dexterity, or in that the introduction of new machines and more demanding work techniques may devalue the training that they received previously. To ignore these aspects of the social process that is producing a turnaround in the application of science and technology in all areas, would in the final analysis weaken the restructuring program. The information below will demonstrate that this is not an insignificant problem.

We are now talking of having reached the maximum possible employment of women; in any event sources for future increases have been practically exhausted. This is indicated by the high percentage of working women who are also taking care of families and children. The 1980 census indicated that about 60 percent of working women were also caring for a family and children. The figure currently stands between 70 and 75 percent. The internal structure of this group is important: 23 percent of these women were taking care of one child, 28 percent had two children, 7.4 percent had three children, 1.3 percent had four children, and 0.4 percent had five or more children.

The high percentage of working women in the 20-24-year-old group, the most active childbearing age, and in the 25-35-year-old group, the potentially most active age, underlines the importance of resolving the conflicts between woman as employee and woman as mother. The fact that 83.4 to 92.8 percent of the women in these two age groups work causes a number of specific social problems, and at the same time makes it essential that we deal with these problems. Among them is providing care for the children of working mothers. Some 22 percent of eligible children attend day care centers, and some 95 percent of eligible children attend nursery schools. Latchkey groups have been set up at schools, so children of working mothers can spend after-school hours there. These facilities bring their own sets of problems. The children are frequently sick, school children receive excessive homework assignments, etc. Adopting the generally accepted model for resolving these twin roles of women is complicated by the differing levels of conflict between the two experienced by different individuals. More than in the past it is clearly necessary now to take account of the situations of individual women, with

particular reference to differing professional qualifications, as well as a number of other sociocultural characteristics of the family, the quality of their interpersonal relations, the essence of which is the relationship between husband and wife.

Nor can we overlook the internal structure of female employment. In contrast to the past when women performed mainly manual work, today 56.4 percent of employed women work in white-collar jobs, while only 43.6 percent perform blue-collar tasks. Moreover white-collar female employees have a more highly differentiated wage and qualification structure than blue-collar female employees. For the most part white-collar female employees have high school or college educations, and work in education, health care, social services, administration, and the legal system. Approximately 32 percent of all working women work in nonproduction occupations; they account for some 59 percent of total employment in these sectors. This data, and particularly the high level of female employment in the so-called feminized sectors, cause other, complex problems related to resignations of young women to take maternity leave or to take care of small children.

Because the restructuring of national economic management and the transition to a compensation and work organization tied to a cost accounting system should result in a significant lowering in the number of administrative employees, we must plan for a high degree of social mobility within the work force. There are even grounds to assume that this "shift" in employment will be "complicated" by the large number of young women who are expecting children or who are already on maternity leave, or who are taking care of minor children. We need to prepare as well for this social consequence of restructuring.

This brings us to the third group of problems. The conflicts between the two roles mentioned above are further increased by additional, still insufficiently developed, social amenities for the new model of working mothers with children. The existing system of providing for basic family needs is inadequate, with the shortcomings having their greatest impact on women. These problems involve services, retail trade, and product availability. Time lost because of shortcomings in these areas significantly reduce the time available to women to rest after work, to pursue their own interests, to improve their job qualifications. The overall impact is one of great frustration for women which influences their behavior with their children and other family members.

There are a number of social consequences of the fact that obtaining what is necessary to meet the needs of a family involves significant difficulties. Today one even notices certain attempts to regenerate the material orientation characteristic of the bourgeois class, to create a myth of possessions without regard to their usefulness and necessity, particularly certain things that have come to play the role of standards for the achievement of

certain social prestige. Ongoing problems with the supply of consumer goods have not resulted in consumers with modest wants, but in a single-minded orientation to acquiring possessions. The ability to acquire things, even at the price of a bribe or using connections has even come to be a sign of the competence of the acquirer. It is by no means an exceptional occurrence when the relationship between money and goods is replaced by a natural relationship, where goods are bartered for other goods, services for counterservices. We have not yet fully realized the significance of this direct impact of the structure and quality of products on the market on the way people lead their lives, on the formation of standards for consumer dealings, on value formation and the overall quality of life. This is a remnant of the extensive technique of management when efforts to meet quantitative production targets were not accompanied by adequate attention to product quality, when production did not react flexibly enough to market demands and changes in consumer preference. Consumption quality is as yet a more or less unknown factor, the determination of which is not possible in terms of general demand.

The lack of product availability and of those services that would make possible a fundamental turnaround in satisfying basic family needs is leading to new forms of small-scale production and the revitalization of petty bourgeois habits in family life. These in turn individualize families, and deepen the inequities in possibilities for using free time between men and women, along with other negative impacts.

Meeting daily needs, such as feeding a family, using small-scale production techniques, is highly ineffective both for the individual and for society. Unfortunately the inadequate structure and high price of certain services tend to reinforce this trend towards cottage industries at the family level, rather than eliminate it. This places very real barriers in the way of the individual advancement of the adult family members, who must bear the burden of these activities. Resolving the problem of service availability, their quality and affordability would have a significant impact on improving the lives of families and of women, the relationship between their roles as mothers, housekeepers and professionals.

The circumstances discussed in this article take on an increased importance because of the standing of the family as a social grouping with great impact on the formation of the personality. Previously this socialization function was mentioned with reference to child raising in the family. The importance of the family in defining the life-styles of both partners, in forming their moral standards, and in determining the quality of the relationships of family members with society were for the most part on the periphery of the attention of policy-makers. Once one emphasizes the capability of the family to develop specific social characteristics of people, to exert a substantial influence on the formation of their moral and ethical values, as well as satisfying the need for intimate social contact, then the family becomes



a definite social entity the quality of which is part of the quality of the social evolution of the society. This is the case in part because our country has traditionally been among those in which the family has been held in high esteem.

In responding to the need for a higher quality life-style for families and, consistent with economic possibilities, resolving certain conflicts in the roles of women, we will enhance the restructuring of society and contribute to an improvement and development of socialist social relations. This connection was also noted during discussions of current family policy problems by the CPCZ Central Committee on 25 March 1988. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium stated that the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress mandated in the area of family policy a priority national task of improving the stability of families and improving the training offered to young people for marriage and responsible parenthood. It was also emphasized that the family will remain the basic social unit in society. It will form the individual, and thereby have an impact on overall social development. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expressed agreement with the basic objectives of state family policy along with the measures approved on 10 March 1988 by the federal government. These involve mainly the use of all available resources—legal, economic, health care, educational, ideological and organizational—in a coordinated way to strengthen the family, eliminate obvious shortcomings, and to build an effective system to prevent the disintegration of the family. The CSSR Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs was instructed to develop this conception of a state family policy.

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## POLAND

### PZPR Plenary Session in Moscow

26000521e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
25-26 June 88 p 9

[Article: "PZPR Party Committee Plenum in the USSR"]

[Text] Moscow (PAP) On Friday a plenary session of the PZPR Party Committee was held at the Polish Embassy in Moscow. Problems concerning the implementation of the Polish-Soviet declaration on cooperation in the realm of ideology, science, and culture were discussed.

Jerzy Swiderski, member of the PZPR Central Committee and head of the Central Committee's Department of Personnel Policy, and Wlodzimierz Natorf, member of the PZPR Central Committee and Polish ambassador to the USSR, attended the session.

In connection with the fact that Jerzy Szukala, who had been first secretary of the PZPR Party Committee in the USSR, was returning to Poland, the plenum accepted his request that he be relieved of the position he had

occupied. Ryszard Czerwinski, the previous deputy director of the Central Committee's Political-Organization Department, was selected as the new first secretary.

10790

### Czyrek, PZPR Lecturers Meet

26000519d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Jun 88 p 8

["Meeting of Lecturers with Jozef Czyrek"—PAP report]

[Text] At the PZPR Central Committee a meeting of lecturers was held with Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, who discussed problems being considered by the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. The meeting was chaired by Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Czyz, who also delivered a speech inaugurating the discussion.

1386

### Poles on the Soviet Union: Public Opinion Poll Comparisons

26000500 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish  
No 29, 16 Jul 88 p 13

[Compiled by Dobrochna Kedzierska: "Enthusiasm and Barriers" surtitled "Poles on the Soviet Union"]

[Text] In polls conducted during the last 3 years, ever since the election of Mikhail Gorbachev to the post of secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, the CBOS [Public Opinion Survey Center] has been asking Poles about their attitude toward the changes occurring in the USSR. The initial questions concerned the general consequences of that election, but they were followed by increasingly specific questions about the status and progress of perestroika.

On Gorbachev: In March 1985, several days following the election of M. Gorbachev to the post of secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, nearly 43 percent of respondents believed that nothing would change, one-fourth expected changes to the better, nearly 5 percent feared changes to the worse, and the remaining 30 percent had no opinion. Three years later the changes in opinion were explicit. Nearly 70 percent of respondents believed that the situation in the USSR had improved, 6 percent stressed that there was no change, a little less than 1 percent thought that things got worse, and one-fourth had no opinion.

The change in the attitude of Poles toward Gorbachev is also demonstrated by the explicit 23-percent increase, during the period between December 1985 and October 1987, in respondents declaring their liking for him. Only John Paul II (from the list of 16 leaders) had more sympathizers. In a poll about the greatest political leader

in 1987 M. Gorbachev was decidedly ranked first, followed by John Paul II and R. Reagan. A majority of Poles (54 percent) defined themselves as supporters of his policy, and there were very few opponents (1.4 percent), while the remainder were either indifferent or uninterested.

**On perestroika:** Two polls about the changes taking place in the Soviet Union were conducted: in April 1987 and in February 1988. The first of these polls was intended to reveal how much Poles knew about these changes, whether they were interested in them, and what was their emotional attitude toward perestroika. The subsequent poll concerned not only the manifestations of these changes but also the obstacles and restrictions as well as the progress made and the manner in which this is affecting the situation in Poland.

In April 1987 about 47 percent of respondents expressed the belief that the changes in the USSR were extensive and would lead to a thorough restructuring; 18 percent thought these changes superficial and not conducive to releasing initiative; and nearly one-third had no opinion. Although over the year that followed these appraisals did not change significantly, certain signs of a weakening of faith in the effectiveness of perestroika became visible.

The depth of the changes was most often perceived by educated persons, white-collar workers, the intelligentsia, and private entrepreneurs. On the other hand, blue-collar workers showed the most restraint in their responses. Party members, urban dwellers, and people interested in politics were definitely the ones most convinced of the success of perestroika. It is interesting that after a year the enthusiasm of those groups declined the most. However, contentment with and goodwill and support for perestroika still are dominant, even though enthusiasm has been supplanted by a deeper reflection.

In answer to the question of what guarantees a thorough restructuring and successes in 1988, the respondents most often pointed to the personality of M. Gorbachev. As regards the political aspects, the respondents pointed to democracy construed as openness and publicity. They also stressed the increase in participatory governance.

A tangible effect of perestroika is the changes in the overall policies of the USSR. In its foreign policy respondents perceived flexibility in arms negotiations and the desire to eliminate nuclear weapons, and also a generally greater openness toward the West. In its domestic socioeconomic policy they perceived chiefly changes in the mechanisms of management on the macro scale as well as significant stirring in personnel policies.

Concerning social relations and behavior, stress was placed on the releasing of social initiative, enthusiasm and ardor of the society, changes in social awareness, a change in the mentality of the Soviet society.

Poles view perestroika above all as being ordered from "the top," mainly in the domain of politics. They are much less prone to identify it with the proactivism and initiative of the Soviet society, and least prone to perceive any changes in the economy.

What is, in the opinion of Poles, restricting and impeding perestroika? The respondents pointed to the complexity of the situation. Above all, they drew attention to the barriers existing in the awareness of both the authorities and the society. Also essential, in their opinion, are certain objective complications ensuing from the present state of the economy and the specific nature of a multinational state and the socialist system. Yet another set of obstacles was seen in the pace and scope of the accomplishments of perestroika so far. In identifying the opponents, the respondents referred almost equally often to the authorities and the society in the Soviet Union, and they also used the general definition, "the opposition."

The barriers of awareness were defined by the respondents as way of thinking, mentality, and habits and customs. They referred to the insufficient pace and scope of changes and they chiefly stressed personnel policy. Likewise, they viewed the changes in the system of management and governance as insufficient. Centralism, enterprise monopolies, absence of cost-effective accounting, bureaucracy, and an ossified institutional system, all markedly retard the process of perestroika. Attention was also drawn to the absence of complete democratization.

Among the objective obstacles to perestroika mention was made of the economic and civilizational backwardness of the USSR, the obsolete technologies and structure of industry, the specific nature of a multinational state, the ethnic differentiation of its citizens, and the vastness of its territory. Some also thought that perestroika was being impeded by socialism, by the unreformability of socialism.

**What can perestroika bring to Poland and Poles?** In answer to this question, 40 percent of respondents said that it would bring advantages, 7 percent mentioned disadvantages, and 21 percent thought that it would not influence the situation in Poland, while nearly 30 percent had no definite opinion. As regards advantages, mention was chiefly made of the possible impact of Soviet experience and its utilization in our country was postulated. Emphasis was placed on the consistency and resoluteness of action of Gorbachev as a capable leader who also knows how to discipline the society.

In their specific comments the respondents pointed to the positive effects of perestroika in three domains: economic, political, and social. In the economy, they expect a normalized cooperation based on sound economic principles that would make it profitable to both countries and promote improvements in the situation in Poland. As regards politics, the respondents expressed

the hope for a greater understanding of our reformist measures and for an increased democratization of life. As regards social aspects, the respondents counted on a change in the attitude of Russians toward Poles and Poles toward Russians, the demolishing of existing prejudices, the publicization of many blank spots in the history of both nations, growth of mutual tourism, and the possibility of visiting Polish families resident in USSR territory.

The negative aspects were most often discussed in a generalized manner. When referring to specifics, mention was made of the slowdown of the reform, the higher prices, the inflation, the deterioration of living standards, the slowdown in democratization, higher arms expenditures, and greater intervention into Poland's domestic affairs.

Those expressing the belief that perestroika would produce nothing to Poland or would in no way influence our situation stressed the need to rely on our own resources and solve our own problems, explore Polish roads toward reform without relying on the help of neighbors.

As observed from Poland, perestroika is chiefly identified with the measures of the central government and, in the respondents' opinion, it still lacks sufficient social support. More than 40 percent of Poles believe that it will be crowned with success, while one-fourth are of the opinion that the changes in many domains of life are still too superficial and there is no guarantee that they will be far-reaching.

**On Polish-Soviet relations:** According to a majority of Poles these relations are good or very good (only 4-8 percent thought them bad or very bad). In the last 2 years these assessments fluctuated greatly depending on the international situation and the domestic situation in Poland. It is interesting that during the same period the number of persons viewing the USSR as our ally has increased, while the number of those viewing it as a menace to us declined.

In the referendum poll on Poland's continued membership in the Warsaw Pact, 70 percent of the respondents supported the status quo, nearly 27 percent favored withdrawal from the Pact, and 3 percent lacked a definite opinion. Of the 27 percent opposed to Poland's continued membership, nearly 85 percent favored Poland's neutrality, 12 supported a military alliance with the bloc of Western countries, and 2.6 percent answered, "Difficult to answer."

The most controversial topic was economic cooperation with the USSR. Fifty-three percent of the respondents were of the opinion that it should be tightened, while nearly 25 percent were for curtailing it.

It is interesting that, on the list of the countries eliciting the greatest emotions the USSR was ranked second, next to Japan. Nearly 70 percent declared their liking, 16 percent were indifferent, and 15 percent hostile.

**Do Poles like the USSR?** Toward the end of 1987 66.5 percent of Poles answered this question affirmatively, every ninth Pole (9.5 percent) answered it negatively, and every fourth Pole (25.6 percent) was ambivalent. The CBOS lacks comparison data, but it seems that, once M. Gorbachev became the leader of the CPSU, the attitude of Poles toward the USSR underwent a definite change to the better.

1386

**Rakowski, Urban on Importance of Media Role in Post-Plenum Session**

26000520a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 pp 1,2

["Role and Tasks of the Press Following the Seventh Plenum: Conference of Media Representatives"—PAP report]

[Text] Tasks relating to the implementation of the resolution of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum were on 24 June the subject of a national conference of media representatives attended by Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

Introducing the discussion, M. F. Rakowski stressed that at the Seventh Plenum the party leadership unequivocally expressed its belief that the entire party should in the immediate future act much more explicitly as the leading and guiding force spurring the processes of socialist renewal. "Should" means that it is not always and everywhere such a force, although, as known, it is precisely the party that initiates reform undertakings. Experience gained in the past years shows, however, that initiative in creating the reform program does not necessarily imply that party members or party activists will automatically stride in the vanguard of the reformist forces. The party's role—this was stressed by the Central Committee secretary—as the vanguard of changes should lie in the focus of attention of the media. This requires of the media greater penetration of intraparty life and spotlighting of the origins of the proreform undertakings and measures. It also is necessary to continually compare the past with the present, especially as regards civil rights and human rights, self-government, and legality.

The Central Committee secretary also declared that, in the light of the changing role and tasks of the party, the issue of the criticism of any party element, from bottom to top, also has requires a new look. If we accept the assumption that the party is the main force of the process of democratization of our socioeconomic system, it is self-evident that no party member and no party echelon



may be exempt from criticism—of course, public criticism, because the criticism taking place at present is confined to various meetings or offstage. We must strive to change this situation, because this is a question of not only political maturity but also and above all of credibility.

As for the reporting on Soviet perestroika in our mass media, M. F. Rakowski pointed out that initially the reports verged on sensationalism. Criticisms of that [Stalinist] period should not be glossed over, but the point is to retain the proper proportions. Attention should not be solely focused on unmasking Stalinism, because that would be a one-sided and therefore false presentation of the Soviet reality. The entire complexity of perestroika, its successes and failures should be pointed out. The press should inform the Polish reader more broadly about the major explorations of theory and the simply unusual determination with which the Soviet communists are combating whatever had led to unusually serious violations of the principles of social justice.

Referring to another important aspect of the Seventh Plenum, the Central Committee secretary offered the reminder that the Politburo made numerous proposals which generally can be characterized as a higher stage of the policy of openness, of broadening outward without administrative fiat. The mass media, which play a crucial role in strengthening and broadening the base for national consensus, have scored substantial accomplishments in this field. But now, he said, redoubled energy is needed to attain the goals which the resolution of the Seventh Plenum regards as an important precondition for the successful accomplishment of democratic processes. Attempts should be made to win over the so-called "center" [the silent majority], which also includes citizens who used to be emotionally or for other reasons linked to Solidarity, but to whom by now Solidarity is a closed past. The mass media should counteract the mistrust still felt by various elements of the authorities toward citizens. That mistrust may also be due to the feeling of living in a besieged fortress, or to unwillingness to establish dialogue, since, as known, dialogue requires listening calmly to other views and operating with convincing arguments. It should also be added that the people in the "center" should be sought out not only in Warsaw and several other large cities. They can be met anywhere and should be talked with anywhere, not owing to tactical considerations but owing to fundamental, system-of-society considerations.

Concluding his address, M. F. Rakowski declared that adapting propaganda to modern times must primarily mean attaching great importance to the provision of rapid, genuine, and attractive information, as well as to debate as a means of advocating values, and also the new rules for personal advocacy in constituencies which are important to the party's policy. Without personal advocacy, the policy of openness cannot produce the expected results.

The discussion focused on the conditions to be met for the existence and growth of a dialogue between the mass media and the society. One such condition was declared to be credibility of media reports on real life. Let us quote several characteristic comments.

According to Jerzy Urban, there is a methodological crisis in propaganda, a combination of contradictions that is very difficult to resolve. If we declare that things are not so bad, that they can be better, and even if we prove this convincingly, then we lose credibility and people cease to listen to us and even become outraged. For anything that is associated in social awareness with the propaganda of success is rejected and unpopular. But if we declare that things are bad and enumerate the existing problems, this is much better received by public opinion, which is even ready to agree with us. But the results are such that in the former case anything that we say is viewed as ritual propaganda by the authorities—we do then have contact with the audience, but at the expense of enhancing the potential for pessimism and apathy. The society is becoming less and less interested in what the authorities are doing, in the topics being discussed at various conferences, and in the plans or proposals of the party. The only thing that interests the society is what has already been done, the facts accomplished. Hence the conclusion any edited new, in any form, whether print, radio or television, must be based on practically constant consideration of current issues of concern to the public instead of offering reminders of the anniversaries, conferences, actions, or campaigns scheduled for a particular day.

Mieczyslaw Krajewski of LITERATURA voiced the view that our press still pays little interest to heated and authentic disputes and too much interest to all kinds of polemical "padding," insults, and quarrels which not only leave the reader indifferent but also annoy him. The system of the party's situation in the society must be restructured and the party should become properly part of the life of the society, he said. The party must be based on the manifold orientations and alliances existing in our system of society, if it desires to return to Leninist political culture and effectively struggle to win social support for its program. Such should be the fundamental goal of propaganda activities.

Professor Marian Stepień, editor in chief of the monthly ZDANIE, declared that, among other things, publicity about party problems is highly important, so that the society become aware of the great unrest and intellectual ferment being experienced by the party, by a majority of its elements. So far society has been believing that the party is an enclave of firm tranquility in which tempests of intellect are absent. Attempts to deal with these problems are being too often torpedoed. This is a chronic and unwise approach. In a situation in which the country has so many difficult problems, someone sitting in a back office [the censor] is checking words and sentences. We suffer propaganda defeats, not through the fault of the editors but through the fault of the higher-ups.

Andrzej Bilik of Polish Television quoted Mayakowski: "So that socialism may not be pecked to death by canaries," commenting that the "pecking to death" is continuing and growing in intensity. He also asked whether propaganda can perform correctly in a situation in which we fear everyone—the political adversary, the partner, ourselves, and our superiors. The basic mistake of propaganda is that it always is convincing those who already believe and nearly everywhere engages in a kind of sycophancy. It continually focuses on reporting on official events and trivial ceremonies which are of no interest to anyone, just because they are honored by the presence of some important personage. The broadening of the democratization of life has resulted in that the numbers of "democrats" desirous of having their names mentioned in reports on official events is growing. This is happening at the expense of reports on the events and programs themselves.

After several hours of discussion, the following conclusions were reached: propaganda cannot be better than the policy it promotes, and hence improvements in propaganda must hinge on the broadening and deepening of the processes of political democracy. As was pointed out at the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, the laboring people are interested not in the fact that we are changing but in what has already changed, not in our declarations but in what we can prove black on white as authentic accomplishments. This also should be the goal of the quotidian dialogue with readers, listeners, and viewers.

Toward the end of the conference Director of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee Slawomir Tabkowski presented the results ensuing from the assessment of the campaign for elections to people's councils.

1386

**'Consensus' Group Calls for Multilateral Dialogue**  
26000507a Warsaw ODDROZENIE in Polish  
No 15, Jun 88 p 2

[Article: "Declaration of 'Consensus' Dialogue Group: the Crisis in 'Consultative Democracy'"]

[Text] In order to live in harmony with its historically justified aspirations, Poland needs consistent, convincing economic, social, and political reforms. Being aware on the one hand of the society's impatience and, on the other, the authorities' declaration of their determination to implement the reform, the "Consensus" dialogue group wishes to point out the factors which are impeding the reform or preventing progress:

—In connection with the ever more noticeable crisis in "consultative democracy," we maintain the position that it is already high time to make a transition from the stage of seeking public opinion to that of giving citizens full legal authority. The first step to this goal should be to

change the law on associations. It is a question of creating possibilities for society to do its own grass-roots organizing to form associations, clubs, and social movements. The sole criterion to be taken into account at the time associations are registered should be that they are not in violation of the statutes of the Polish Constitution. Under the auspice of the law on associations, decisions concerning the renewal, suspension, or dissolution of an association should be subject to court supervision. Associations should have the real possibility of financing themselves through their own economic activity (this requires that the laws be amended, especially the tax laws). There should be thorough-going discussion of the proposals for creating new political groups. This view has been aptly expressed in Tomas Bartoszewicz's "Pluralizm w socjalizmie" (Pluralism in Socialism) in ODDROZENIE, 29 May 1988.

—Self-government that creates real opportunities for citizens' self-actualization. There are still cute phrases and facades for concepts that are basically bureaucratic.

And so we are cautious, for example, about the implementation of the cooperatives law and the proposal to draft changes in the law "on the system of the people's councils and local self-government." This draft still expresses a concept that is foreign to socialist axiology, that the bodies of the local self-government body, in the form of the people's councils, are bodies of the state hierarchical machinery. Instead the people's councils should be defined as self-governing bodies "controlled by the town and village's working people," that discharge in their own local areas the legislative, representational, auditing, and creative functions of local self-government. The people's councils should therefore be defined by law as a form of people's power: municipal and self-governing power, not governmental power. Otherwise we will continue to have the absurd, illogical concept of the "state" local self-government, which is internally contradictory and far from the socialist self-government concept.

—For many years there has been political and economic discrimination against the intelligentsia, a stratum of society which is growing considerably as the scientific and technical revolution progresses. An especially dramatic form of this discrimination is the material degradation of groups of the intelligentsia. The lack of prospects for young people has caused many people in this social group to emigrate. In view not only of the principle of social justice but also the conditions of Poland's economic and cultural development, we are asking for a real appreciation of the rank of the intelligentsia in the society at the end of the 20th century, and not mere words alone.

—The economic growth rate is declining again. Inflation has become worse. The foreign debt will soon be double what it was in 1980. We are disturbed by the half-way measures used to implement the solutions of the second stage of the reform. We still have a long way to go to have

full legal rights for state, cooperative, and private sectors or to see internal competition between them. Under the auspices of a stable policy of market economics favoring supply, there should be equal rights in terms of taxation and access to raw materials and credit. Too often the government gives in to various economic pressure groups. The errors and inconsistencies in economic policy compromise the idea of the reform and stir people up to make claims. The society evaluates the government's economic activity by the results, not by the intentions and declarations.

We are disturbed that the reform in our socioeconomic and political system declared so often but implemented with difficulty, is being boldly hampered by conservative structures and people, despite the declarations of the highest authorities. Conservatism is nothing strange for socialism, and it is urgently necessary that these attitudes be revealed and counteracted more decisively than in the past.

We are an ally of reformers inside the party and outside it, along with members of the opposition who favor the reform, and we are for the anticrisis pact. Responsibility for the fate of the country calls for all parties to be consistently ready to engage in dialogue.

10790

**Personnel Policy Needs Complete Restructuring**  
26000507b Warsaw ODDROZENIE in Polish  
No 15, Jun 88 p 7

[Article: "Personnel Policy: Findings by the Center for Public Opinion Research"]

[Text] Preparations for the PZPR Central Committee plenum on personnel policy provided inspiration for investigations by the Center for Public Opinion Research (CBOS). The research was conducted on three population groups: rank- and-file employees working in the socialized economy (Group A), managers working in the socialized economy (Group B), and managers working in state administration (Group C).

The PZPR membership rolls include 13.6 percent of people in Group A, 58.3 percent of people in Group B, and 83.6 percent of those in Group C. When "Solidarity" was in existence, its membership included 35.9 percent of rank and file employees, 35.9 percent of managers in the socialized economy, and 3 percent of managers in state administration. Among college graduates, 10.2 percent of the people were in Group A, 70.6 percent in Group B, and 76.5 percent in Group C.

Nearly three-quarters of the respondents in each group said that no thought-out personnel policy was presently being waged in Poland. Managers presented a more negative view of the matter. It is interesting that one parish (gmina) supervisor and town president had formed no opinion on this subject, when, after all, they are the ones who should be developing personnel policy

in their jurisdictions. Managers in industry showed a similar degree of ignorance. When asked: "Do you think that a well-considered personnel policy is being conducted in our country?" 10.4 percent of people in Group A, 13.4 percent of Group B, and 17 percent of Group C answered in the affirmative. On the other hand, 68.5 percent of A, 77.6 percent of B, and 72.3 percent of C answered "No." What is worse, over half the employees working in the socialized economy, including managers, and 41.2 percent of directors think that the current personnel policy is no better or worse than the policy that was conducted in the 1970's.

Those polled did not notice that the personnel policy was having any positive influence on the economic situation or the implementation of the economic reform. On the contrary, they notice many negative aspects of the policy. Only 22.3 percent of respondents in Group A, 30.3 percent in Group B, and 47.3 percent in Group C said that the personnel policy had an impact on the economic situation. Nearly a third of all three groups thought that this policy had no impact at all on the state of the economy, but 42.1 percent of respondents in Group A, 38.5 percent in Group B, and 19 percent in Group C thought that the policy was making the state of the economy worse.

Evaluating the commitment of enterprise management personnel to implementing the economic reform, 28.1 percent of the respondents in Group A, 38.2 percent of those in Group B, and 40.8 percent in Group C said that management personnel are involved in the process of reforming the economy, but the negative appraisals predominate: 56.4 percent of rank and file employees, 30.9 percent of managers in the socialized economy, and 52.1 percent of managers in state administration think that the personnel policy "for the most part is not actively involved in implementing the economic reform; it is neither for it nor against it." On the other hand, 14.5 percent of the respondents in Group A, 11.7 percent of the respondents in Group B, and 7.8 percent of the respondents in Group C think that management personnel "for the most part hinders the implementation of the economic reform." The higher the level of administration, the more severely they are criticized. Of those asked, 24.4 percent of Group A, 20.5 percent of Group B, and 15.8 of Group C called for the removal of a certain percentage of the staff at the place of employment. Changes at the voivodship level were asked for by 33.3 percent of the respondents in Group A, 39.3 percent in Group B, and 19.7 percent in Group C. The central authorities were judged most severely. Change is called for at this level by 40 percent of the respondents in Group A, 35.6 percent of those in Group B, and 25.4 percent of Group C.

Personnel policy in our country therefore needs to be fundamentally restructured. Without restructuring in this area, it is going to be difficult to count on success in reforming the country's political and economic system.

10790



**New Lodz People's Council Meets, Municipal Property Discussed**  
26000519b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 pp 1,2

[“New People's Councils Begin Work; First Session in Lodz”—PAP report]

[Text] The session of the Municipal People's Council of Lodz on 24 June was the first inaugural session of a newly elected people's council in this country.

For the new term of office 200 seats are occupied at the Lodz council. The councilmen evaluated the course and results of the electoral campaign, stressing that it was a totally new experience which should pay off in the future. The Mayor of Lodz briefed them about the implementation of the socioeconomic plan and the principal tasks awaiting the authorities of that region in the immediate future. The new possibilities for action of the people's council due to the amending of the Decree on the System of People's Councils and Local Self-Government also were discussed. This concerns especially the fact that the councils have gained the status of legal entities, which enables them to apply for bank loans and participate legally in various economic projects. Moreover, huge assets in the form of communal property will be transferred to the disposal of the councils.

“I solemnly swear as a councilman to work for the good of the Polish nation and its unity, to defend the constitutional system and laws of the Polish People's Republic, to act in accordance with the interests of the socialist state, to contribute to strengthening the bonds between the state authorities and the laboring people, and to represent my voters worthily and conscientiously, care for their affairs, and spare no effort in executing the tasks of the people's council.” In swearing this oath, the Lodz councilmen became entitled to the rights of councilmen. These rights are inseparably linked to the many duties of the councilman, which include active participation in the work of the council and its bodies, maintenance of regular bonds with the community and with social and self-government organizations, and participation in meetings with voters.

The elected chairman of the Municipal People's Council of Lodz is Professor Andrzej Feliks Grabski, chairman of the Committee for Science during the Council's previous term of office and deputy director of the Consortium Institute of Political Sciences in Lodz. Standing committees of the Council which will concern themselves on a daily basis with various domains of the region's socioeconomic life, were appointed.

The deliberations were attended by Member of the Council of State Aleksander Legatowicz.

Within a few days, before 1 July, inaugural sessions of other voivodship people's councils will be held.

1386

**Young Workers Favor Private Sector, Survey Shows**  
26000518b Warsaw *TRYBUNA LUDU* in Polish  
23 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Piotr Rzdca: “What Do Young Workers Think?” under the rubric “Ideology, Politics”]

[Text] The Center for Research Into Youth Problems under the Main Board of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] conducted pilot polls among 1,015 young workers from urban industrial centers. The respondents' views on the situation in the country and at their workplaces were solicited.

“In asking about the obstacles to the country's growth,” writes Teresa Hozakowska, who studied this poll, “we wanted to learn what the respondents consider to be the greatest obstacles. A majority of the young workers consider the faulty organization of the economy to be the greatest obstacle.... Second greatest is the bureaucracy.... The next important factor impeding progress in this country is the constraints on the initiative of working people.”

As regards their views on the program for economic reforms, a majority of young workers (81 percent) supported shutting down unprofitable enterprises and dismissing inefficient workers. This should be accompanied by autonomy of enterprises and of their management. Fifty-five percent of the respondents consider a relaxation of age ceilings to be indispensable but are opposed to the introduction of a personal income tax. More than 50 percent of the young workers believe that the economic reform is a necessity, nearly 35 percent believe that “the reform is being applied too slowly,” and only 6.9 percent feel that the reform will never succeed in our economy.

Teresa Hozakowska writes, “The predilection of youth for private enterprise in the Polish economy again deserves emphasis. Sixty-six percent favored broadening the influence of the private sector in the economy, and as many as 74 percent of the respondents supported the elimination of all constraints on the formation of enterprises by anyone who so desires and has the capital.”

How is this explicit “predilection” of the respondents for private enterprise be interpreted?

Above all, it can be interpreted as criticism of the labor relations and situation of employees at socialized enterprises. This is confirmed by the answers to the more specific question of what changes to the better have occurred at the workplaces of the respondents. It turns out that only 7 percent of the respondents stated that the organization of labor at their workplaces has improved in the last ½ year; 4.5 percent stated that the supply of producer goods has improved; 6 percent stated that the number of stoppages declined; 7.6 percent stated that wages are tied to productive work; 6.1 percent, that the

atmosphere improved; 5.3 percent, that the material situation of the workforce improved; 4.5 percent, that administrative overstaffing decreased. On the other hand, 28.7 percent of the respondents stated that the prices of the machinery and goods manufactured at their workplaces had increased.

These opinions appear characteristic not only of young workers. But it is precisely young workers who are the most critical, most impatient, and most dissatisfied with the situation at their enterprises. And while they perceive no possibility of personally influencing an improvement in these conditions, their attitude toward socialized enterprises is even more critical and toward private initiative even more hopeful.

It is a pity that a corresponding poll was not taken for purposes of comparison among young workers employed as apprentices of private craftsmen and in private industrial plants. Then the findings could be more informative still. For after all, genuine opportunities for the young can arise not through privatization but through improvements in the situation at socialized enterprises and broader participation of the workforce in their management.

It would also be of interest to know how these findings will be utilized by the ZSMP itself in order to help its members in eliminating the factors contributing to their critical opinion about socialized enterprises, and what initiatives it is taking in order to utilize the critical attitude of youth as a force for changing the reality. Such appears to be the right road: from studies to action....

1386

#### **Less Interest in Politics, More Faith in Economic Recovery**

26000518c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Jun 88 p 8

[Article by Z. S.: "What Do Poles Think About Politics and the Economy: Findings of Latest Polls by the Public Opinion Survey Center"]

[Text] To political and economic activists reading the bulletin of the Public Opinion Survey Center about the polls relating to the agenda of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum should be obligatory. Much can be inferred from knowledge of the mood and voter attendance in the various communities in which these activists operate. But it is another matter when these findings are published in terms of percentages and tables on polls conducted one day after the Seventh Plenum.

Generally speaking, the polls point to a definite decline in interest in politics. As many as 48 percent of the respondents among employees of the socialized sector declared that they were not interested in the course and results of the Plenum, partially because they were preoccupied with living conditions (more than 35 percent).

These indicators may be viewed as a manifestation of weariness and impatience. This is demonstrated by assessments of the political and economic situation. Of the respondents, 65.4 percent appraised the political situation on the scale of from "Very good and good" to "Neither good nor bad," 5.6 percent had no opinion, and the remainder were negative. These figures are much better than last May, but worse than in October 1987 (when the corresponding figures for the first two (political and economic situations) were 55.8 and 73.8 percent). Appraisals of the economic situation are now more negative: only 18 percent of the respondents appraised it on the scale from "Very good and good" to "neither good nor bad."

These differences between political and economic appraisals also are reflected in views of the future. Nearly 73 percent of the respondents stated that the political situation will improve or remain unchanged (14.4 percent had no opinion), but only 45.5 percent thought so about the economic situation (14.7 percent had no opinion). However, the appraisals of both situations are somewhat better than those ensuing from the polls conducted regularly since last November.

The indicator of the feelings of relaxation, content, and faith in a better future improved slightly, while the indicator of opposite moods declined. This undoubtedly is a positive symptom, but its importance is diminished by the fact that the former indicator applied to only 10.7 percent of the respondents (3 percent last February) while the latter applied to as many as 69.1 percent.

Interesting, significant, and very thought provoking were the opinions about certain personalities, occupational groups, and political circles. In their evaluation of the extent of support for the reforms of socialism the respondents ranked Wojciech Jaruzelski most highly, but after him this indicator gradually shrank, with respect to, among others, ministers and the party apparatus. The number of answers acknowledging that L. Walesa and the persons rallied round him as well as a majority of the post-Solidarity activists are opposed to the reforms reached 29 percent. At the same time, as many as over 20 percent of the respondents expressed the opinion that a majority of local workers of the PZPR apparatus as well as of highly placed individuals also are opposed to the reforms. The causes of this opinion held by such a fairly broad segment merit reflection and perhaps also analysis by the party.

Concerning the appraisals of the views of post-Solidarity circles and other groupings considering themselves oppositionist, it is noteworthy that only 19 percent of the respondents stated that the political platform adopted by the Seventh Plenum can be considered by these groupings to be sufficient for concluding an anti-crisis pact, and 21 percent stated that those people would accept the offer to share in governance. These low indicators may

be interpreted as a negative assessment of the possibility for constructive actions by groupings which cannot transcend their own raucous criticism of what is being proposed or done.

1386

**Alternative Service Draft Law Detailed in Sejm**  
*26000519a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
*23 Jun 88 p 3*

[“Government Draft of Changes Received by the Sejm; Decree on Universal Military Duty to Defend the PRL Amended”—PAP report]

[Text] The Office of the Speaker's Mace received the government draft for amending the Decree on Universal Military Duty to Defend the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. It provides for introducing “substitute service”; in this way, males of conscription age, on whom the Constitution imposes the duty of military service, would be enabled to perform their duties to the state in a different, extra-military form, if this ensues from their personal and deep motivation.

The proposed revisions assure a more effective and rational management of manpower resources, a more complete meshing of the needs of the armed forces and Civil Defense with the capacity of the reformed labor market, and the consideration of personal motives, religious or moral, regarding the performance of military service.

Assignment to substitute service, as based on a justified written request by the applicant, would be decided upon by the district conscription commissions. The request must be submitted not later than on the day the draft notice is delivered. Eventual appeals would be considered by the voivodship conscription commission. The proposed implementing regulations for the revised decree provide that representatives of the presidiums of people's councils and the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] would be invited to serve on the district commissions.

The draftees subject to the duty of basic military service or basic service in the Civil Defense, if they are classified acceptable for substitute service, would perform the latter service for 36 months, with graduates of higher educational institutions who are subject to the duty of prolonged military training would perform such service for 24 months.

Substitute service would consist in performing simple chores at specified plants and factories to promote environmental protection, public welfare, communal economy, or water management. Overall supervision over that service would be held by the Minister of Labor and Social Policy.

Persons performing substitute service would receive benefits whose overall value would be close to that of the cost of maintaining a serviceman doing basic military service. The plant or factory would be obligated to provide gratis three meals a day or their financial equivalent, and in specified cases also free housing, as well as to pay wages in the same amount as the pay of basic military service personnel holding the rank of privates, and also to provide free clothing, protective footwear, work clothing and work footwear, and protective gear in accordance with the norms binding at the plant or factory, or to provide the financial equivalent of the clothing, and also to provide social services. Public health service establishments would provide free medical care, free medicines and bandage accessories, and the needed prostheses as well as means of preventing deformations and crippling handicaps. The draftee who performs substitute service may also receive other financial emoluments as specified by the Council of Ministers. For each year of service he would be entitled to a vacation leave of the same duration as that granted to basic military service personnel.

Persons performing substitute service, though they may not remain regular employees, are covered by corresponding provisions of the labor law code governing the obligations of the work establishment, the obligations of the employee, material responsibility, work hours, and safety and hygiene of labor.

The proposed revisions also provide for abolishing the “substitute service of draftees” and revising “basic service in Civil Defense.” Both these forms are defined by the currently binding decree. Once the revisions become effective, persons performing substitute service of draftees will legally become labor-brigade members performing basic service in units of Civil Defense without living in barracks. In practice, they would continue to work in the same work establishments until the expiration date of the legal period of basic service in Civil Defense (24 months), upon being fully credited the time already served in the substitute service of draftees.

The proposed revisions also provide for the penal responsibility of draftees assigned to substitute service in the event of shirking that service.

1386

**PRC Army Political Directorate Official Visits**  
*26000519c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU*  
*in Polish 24 Jun 88 p 8*

[Minister of Defense Receives Deputy Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Chinese People's Liberation Army”—PAP report]

[Text] On 23 June Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki received Member of the Chinese CP Central Committee and deputy Chief of the



Main Political Directorate of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Zhou Keyu. Information on the changes and reforms in both countries and on the role of the armed forces in these processes was exchanged. The importance of bilateral contacts in strengthening cooperation between the People's Republic of China and the Polish People's Republic was stressed. The meeting was attended by Chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army Division General Tadeusz Szacilo, the PRC Acting Charge d'Affaires Wang Yan and the Military Attache Cong Guimin.

1386

**Bulgarian State Arbitrator Received**  
26000519f Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Jun 88 p 8

["At the Planning Commission"—PAP report]

[Text] On 23 June First Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission under the Council of Ministers Franciszek Kubiczek received the Main Arbitrator of the Supreme State Arbitration Commission of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Chudomir Goleminov. Views on the role and tasks of economic arbitration in both countries were exchanged. The conversation was attended by the Chairman of the State Economic Arbitration Commission Professor Edward Zachajkiewicz.

1386

**GDR Auditing Commission Group Meets**  
26000519e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Jun 88 p 8

["Delegation of the SEPD Central Audit Commission in Poland"—PAP report]

[Text] At the invitation of the PZPR Central Control and Audit Commission (CKKR), a delegation of the SEPD Central Audit Commission from the German Democratic Republic, headed by the Commission's Deputy Chairman Karl-Heinz Lorber, has been sojourning in this country since 20 June.

The delegation was received by the heads of the PZPR CKKR, together with its chairman Włodzimierz Mokrzyński.

Experience in the work of the commissions was exchanged and problems of interest to both sides, especially the performance of statutory party duties by the commissions, were discussed. The German comrades were also briefed about the activities of the PZPR CKKR to promote support for implementing the second stage of the economic reform in Poland.

The delegation of the GDR CAC also met with chairmen of borough control and audit commissions and the heads of the Warsaw Voivodship Control and Audit Commission. Furthermore, it held talks at the Lodz Voivodship Control and Audit Commission and showed lively interest in the performance of the party organization, worker self-government, trade union, and ZSMP [Polish Socialist Youth Union] chapter at the DYWILAN Carpet Factory in Lodz.

The delegation also toured Bialsk-Podlaska Voivodship.

1386

**Soviet Veterans Conclude Visit**  
26000520c Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 p 2

["Soviet Veterans Conclude Visit"—PAP report]

[Text] At the invitation of the Chairman of the Main Board of the ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] Arms General Jozef Kaminski, a delegation of the Soviet Committee of Veterans of War and Labor, headed by the Committee's Deputy Chairman Aleksandr Golakov, visited Poland.

The Soviet visitors familiarized themselves with the sociopolitical situation in Poland and, against this background, with the problems of pensioners and annuitants and the services provided to veterans of war and labor.

The visitors were briefed about the situation of disabled war veterans in Poland by the Chairman of the Association of Disabled War Veterans Division General Franciszek Ksiezarczyk.

The delegation was received by Director of the Sociolegal Department under the PZPR Central Committee Andrzej Gdula and the Minister of Labor and Social Policy Ireneusz Sekula.

1386

**Yugoslav Court Delegation Visits**  
26000520b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 p 2

["Delegation of Yugoslav Lawyers Sojourns"—PAP report]

[Text] At the invitation of the Supreme Court a delegation of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia headed by Chief Justice Stoyan Dyuranovich is visiting Poland. On 24 June the delegation was received by Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee Jozef Baryla. The meeting was attended by Director of the Sociolegal Department under the Central Committee Andrzej Gdula. First President of the Supreme Court Adam Lopatka was present.

On the same day the delegation of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia was received by Vice Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski. First President of the Supreme Court took part in the conversation. The Yugoslav Ambassador Branko Puharic was present.

1386

**FRG Lutheran Bishop Visits**

26000519g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
24 Jun 88 p 8

["From the Sojourn of Bishop K. Stoll"—PAP report]

[Text] On 23 June Minister Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Office for Religious Affairs, received Bishop Karlheinz Stoll, chairman of the United Lutheran Church and the National Committee of the World Lutheran Federation in the FRG. During the meeting, which was also attended by Bishop Janusz Narzynski, superior of the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in Poland, satisfaction with the state of the relations between the Evangelic churches in both countries was expressed. Also voiced was the conviction that the changes occurring in the relations between the world's dominant sociopolitical systems are creating the conditions for the further development of contacts between the Evangelical communities in Poland and the FRG. Views on the preparations for commemorating the 50 anniversary of the outbreak of World War II also were expressed.

1386

**ChSS Chief Meets With Adventists**

26000520f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 p 2

[ChSS Chairman Met With the Heads of the Adventist Church"—PAP report]

[Text] On 24 June the Chairman of the ChSS [Christian Social Association] and Member of the Council of State K. Morawski met with the new heads of the Church of Seventh Day Adventists. Participating in the talks were the Chairman of the Church the Rev W. Polok, the Secretary of the Church the Rev R. Halub and the Director Professor Z. Lyko. Problems of the economic activity and cooperation of Christians in resolving social and economic issues were discussed.

1386

**PRON Chief, Religious Figure Meet**

26000520e Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 p 2

["Meeting of J. Dobraczynski with B. V. Fiol"—PAP report]

[Text] Chairman of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council Jan Dobraczynski met with Father Bartolome Vicens Fiol, Dominican, chairman and founder of the so-called Fundacion del Hombre, an international organization sponsoring youth meetings under the slogans "Listening to Man Means Helping Him in His Existence" and "Belief in Others Means Preparing the Future."

This year a youth congress organized by that foundation will be held in Rio de Janeiro on 10-13 October. Young people invited to that congress also include youth from Poland, the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Nicaragua, Hungary, Romania, China, and Bulgaria.

In their talk Jan Dobraczynski and Father Vicens Fiol found the aims of the PRON and the Foundation to be similar.

1386

**Journalists Club on Hungarian Reforms**

26000520d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
25-26 Jun 88 p 2

["Hungarian Reforms—Meeting at the SD PRL"—PAP report]

[Text] At the House of the Journalist a meeting was held of members of the Friendship and International Publicistics clubs on the subject of the Hungarian reforms.

During the meeting, awards of the SD PRL [Journalists Union, Polish People's Republic] Friendship and International Publicistics clubs for reportorial work in 1987 were conferred.

The awards were conferred by Secretary General of the SD PRL Main Board Andrzej Ziemiński.

The meeting and discussion were attended by a representative of the Propaganda Department under the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party I. Degen and the Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic G. Biczo.

1386

## ROMANIA

### Diverse Roads to Socialism Affirmed

27000106 Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian  
No 10, 25 May 88 pp 26-33

[Articles by Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi, Univ Prof Dr Ionel Hagiu, Univ Prof Dr Ion Lupu, Dr Marin Nedelea, and Univ Lecturer Dr Ilie Seftiuc under the heading "The Firm and Creative Application of the Principles of Scientific Socialism—A Decisive Condition of the Victory of the New Order"; first four paragraphs are ERA SOCIALISTA introduction]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech on Some Questions of Socioeconomic Management, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, a program document of inestimable theoretical and practical value, heavily emphasizes the dialectical correlation of the general laws of socialist revolution and construction and the particular conditions of their application, bringing out the profoundly creative spirit in which the new order is being built and improved.

By its very nature the revolutionary process of socialist and communist construction is a socially and historically creative one that naturally excludes any isolation in the predetermined patterns of a "single model." Along with consistent application of the objective laws and of the general principles of socialism, socialism also requires thorough knowledge of the facts in each country, promotion of the ways, means and paces suited to those facts, constant improvement of the social and production relations, institutions and forms of socialist democracy, etc. according to the requirements of each country's development, while taking into consideration, of course, the other socialist countries' experience and the achievements of universal knowledge and practice as well.

As we know, under Party Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu's wise and far-seeing leadership the RCP has followed the course opened up by the historic Ninth Party Congress and has been making a vast theoretical and practical effort toward further development and improvement of Romanian socialist society. Practical experience has proved the correctness of the RCP policy and the viability of the steps taken the last 23 years to improve the management, planning, organization, and especially the development of socialist democracy. A long and rich experience has been acquired thereby and, as Nicolae Ceausescu points out in his speech of 29 April 1988, today Romania is not confronted with the problem of making structural changes in the economic principles it has promoted or in its existing organizational structure, which corresponds to the present stage of development of Romanian society, but it has to implement them better and take steps to further improve that effort.

In the spirit of the principles and policies set by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ERA SOCIALISTA is publishing in this issue a series of articles discussing some questions of the consistent, creative application of the principles of scientific socialism by each party and of unifying the process of worldwide socialist development under the great and growing diversity of specific-historical conditions in which it is being implemented.

### Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi: "The Science of the Revolutionary Transformation of the World"

As a purposeful undertaking of the masses, socialism is also a qualitatively higher stage in the solution of the great problems of our time. But that solution demands a gigantic, daring and large-scale effort, a boundless dedication to country and people, and a creative approach to the problems of socialist revolution and construction. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out this historical fact once again and very clearly in his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, which is a program document of inestimable theoretical and practical value.

In the years since Nicolae Ceausescu, the founder of modern Romania, has been heading our party and state, new prospects have been opened up for the manifestation of the people's creative capacities and for the affirmation of socialist Romania in the international arena.

On the basis of regular and thorough study of the Romanian situation and current social-political and economic developments, the RCP and its secretary general have creatively applied the general truths of scientific socialism and of historical and dialectical materialism to the particular Romanian conditions, enriching social theory and practice with a new outlook and with original, bold and broadly significant principles. As Nicolae Ceausescu said with great conviction and on solid grounds in his speech at the solemn assembly in honor of his 70th birthday and in celebration of his 55 years and more of revolutionary activity, "We have proceeded on the basis of the need to interpret and apply the general universally valid laws and principles creatively to the actual conditions in Romania and the need to abandon dogmas and stereotypes, because there is and can be no model for building socialist society or any other society and we must study the Romanian situation in determining the best ways to ensure the general development of the country. But at the same time we have always considered and always will consider the general practical experience with socialist construction and the development of human society in general."

Scientific socialism is not just an explanatory theory but, also, primarily, a means for the practical implementation of the ideals of the working class and the revolutionary and progressive forces. It is a powerful instrument in the



hands of the revolutionary parties in their efforts to build the new social order and to study and apply the universally valid truths to the particular conditions in each country and in each development stage.

Scientific socialism is an open theoretical system and a living science that is constantly enriched with new theories and synthesizes past experience and conclusions drawn from social development; it is a profoundly revolutionary theory, hostile to isolation and rigidity in thought.

The founders of scientific socialism saw their theory as a guide to action, repeatedly describing it as a starting point to be further developed and improved in the light of new socioeconomic developments and requirements and new advances of science and human knowledge. As they acquired new data and revolutionary experience and enhanced their own knowledge, they proceeded whenever necessary to qualify, enrich or even eliminate some of their previously formulated theories. The necessity of creative development of scientific socialism accordingly demands receptiveness to the new, opposition to inflexible thinking, regular comparison with experience, and reflection in theory, of the changes taking place in the world.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech of 29 April 1988, "Let us take a bolder approach to the new ideological questions that are arising and to the development of the revolutionary conception of the world and life. Let us draw the necessary conclusions from social experience and our entire effort and find ways to advance our society as a whole."

Consistent application and creative development of scientific socialism are duties as well as rights of every revolutionary party. The efforts of the communist parties in various countries to solve the particular problems of the respective countries, according to the objective laws of social development and by ways and means suited to the actual historical conditions, are entirely legitimate. Every revolutionary party, regardless of its size or age, can make a valuable contribution in some field to the development of revolutionary theory and practice and to the enrichment of current social thought. Scientific socialism is developed and enriched by generalizing the practical experience and theoretical contributions of the communist and workers parties and other revolutionary and progressive parties and forces, by correlating the new advances of science and advanced social thought, and by firmly opposing the conservative, reactionary socio-political trends and theories of bourgeois ideology and imperialist anticommunist propaganda.

In his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the need for carefully studying the great changes and transformations in the

world today and of drawing the right conclusions from them that can enrich the revolutionary conception of the world. This also calls for a militant stand against various anticommunist and antisocialist ideas. The secretary general of the party said that reactionary imperialist propaganda and the entire effort to disparage or denigrate the socialist countries' achievements must be more actively exposed. Meanwhile the ideological effort to assert the revolutionary conception of the world emphatically must be redoubled, because various wrong ideas and various deviations to the right or left are being expressed. Accordingly, the secretary general pointed out once again that the principles of scientific socialism and the revolutionary conception of the world "are and will continue to be enriched both by the new conclusions about knowledge and development in general and by social experience and experience in socialist construction."

In its entire activity the RCP proceeds consistently from the historical and dialectical-materialist conception, from the principles of scientific socialism, and from the study and interpretation of the generally valid laws, applying them creatively to the actual Romanian conditions. The guidelines set by the Ninth Party Congress, which inaugurated a new era in our socialist society's development, the decisions of the subsequent party congresses and national conferences, and Nicolae Ceausescu's original creative thought and militant revolutionary activity have been and are critically important in this connection. When there was more international pressure to keep socialism in some bonds that prevented it from using its power and capacity, the RCP realized that historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism are not dogmas but sciences acting as guides to the revolutionary effort to keep renovating society and the world and lending a new perspective to development of production forces, improvement of social relations, and man's further advance to new heights of progress and civilization.

The extensive ideological and political effort made in a profoundly dialectical and innovating spirit by the RCP and its secretary general has been brilliantly embodied in the RCP Ideological Program, drafted at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982 and approved by the 13th RCP Congress as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism. By correlating Nicolae Ceausescu's vital ideas, theories and guidelines, the RCP Ideological Program opens up broad prospects for the whole effort to build the new order and makes it possible to promote the militant, revolutionary spirit and the advanced conception of the world and life more and more effectively.

In the last 23 years the party and its secretary general have made an enormous theoretical and practical effort to develop and improve our social structures and the ways and means of social activity to meet the demands of

constructing a multilaterally developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism. It was in those years, which are the richest in accomplishment in Romania's entire history, that the RCP Program was drafted, questions of vital theoretical and practical importance were taken up, new and very profound scientific theories and conclusions were formulated and substantiated, and the innovating spirit in development of revolutionary working-class ideology was consistently promoted. The RCP Program, the RCP Ideological Program, the other party documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works are the quintessence of creative scientific socialism under Romanian conditions, bringing out the active contribution of the RCP and its secretary general to enrichment of the universal treasury of revolutionary thought and practice.

A vital original contribution to the enrichment of scientific socialism and revolutionary theory and practice was made by our party's and Nicolae Ceausescu's theories about the stages of socialist construction in Romania and by the formulation of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, which defines the main objectives and courses of action to convert Romania from a developing socialist country to a multilaterally developed one as well as the ways of progressing toward increasingly extensive implementation of the communist principles of working, living and distribution.

The party secretary general's noteworthy theoretical contribution to the treatment and clarification of some problems of critical importance in building the new order are also of great fundamental significance, such as socialist construction with and for the people; the place and role of the nation in socialism; the party as the vital center of the nation; the ways and means of developing party leadership; the role of the production forces in socialist society's development; the importance of accumulation, of correct, rational distribution of the national income between the consumption fund and the development fund, and of strengthening socialist ownership as the foundation of the new society's all-around development; the critical role of science and education in socialist and communist construction; organization and management of socialist society; development and improvement of workers revolutionary democracy; stages in the evolution of the socialist state and its functions; the importance of forming and developing socialist awareness; the place of history in the workers' revolutionary patriotic education, etc. Nicolae Ceausescu's view of the socialist revolution as an extensive continuing process and of the need of increasingly intensive promotion of the militant revolutionary spirit in the whole effort to build the new order have a distinct part to play in our society's development.

Questions of the nature of the present period are also notable among the many clarified by the RCP's and its secretary general's contributions, along with those concerning the confrontation between the diametrically opposite trends in international affairs; the principles of

relations among the communist and workers parties and among the socialist states; the nature and requirements of international solidarity in the current period; the dialectics of the internal and external factors and of the general and particular in the revolutionary struggle and in socialist revolution and construction, and the ways of securing peace and disarmament and of consolidating collaboration among all nations and peoples of the world on an equal footing.

The original contributions of the RCP and its secretary general to development of revolutionary thought and to creative application of the universal principles of scientific socialism to the actual conditions in Romania and in the present period are embodied in the unprecedented growth of the production forces, consistent application of the results of the new technical-scientific revolution, implementation of the new agrarian revolution, modernization of education and the system of instruction, refreshment and enrichment of knowledge, creation of a new economic-financial mechanism, institution of the system of workers revolutionary democracy, and development and improvement of our socialist society as a whole. The decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the National Party Conference on Romania's socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 5-Year Plan and on to the year 2000 are new and brilliant embodiments of the party's creative policy, along with the guidelines and conclusions in Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well.

In-depth study and thorough knowledge of the party secretary general's theories are the main ways of raising the political-ideological standard of the communists and all workers and of developing their advanced socialist awareness. Hence the requirement, set in the present stage, for socialist educational work to make mastery of the party's revolutionary conception an effective way to keep raising the standard of people's political training and to develop their ability to understand the new and to act in the revolutionary spirit. Accordingly the effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work heavily depends upon the best possible use of the wealth of ideas in the party documents and Nicolae Ceausescu's works and upon the ability to bring out the new theoretical principles and the problems that must be solved in the current stage of Romanian society's development, as well as the RCP's contribution to the enrichment of contemporary revolutionary thought and practice.

As a revolutionary political ideology, scientific socialism has a profoundly militant party spirit. It deals with social-political phenomena and guides practical reform in accordance with the laws of progress and the communist ideal. It reflects, on the intellectual level, the interests and aspirations of the working class and the masses and their effort toward revolutionary social reform, and

the militant character of scientific socialism is accordingly inseparable from the innovative revolutionary spirit reflected in the fight against all that is no longer suited to the new historical stages and for consistent promotion of the new.

In the view of the RCP and its secretary general, promotion of the revolutionary spirit is closely correlated with the continuity of the revolutionary process of socialist development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the National Party Conference, "We must act in the revolutionary spirit in all fields, in view of the fact that the process of socioeconomic development is not over and never will be over, and that a revolutionary party's role is always to work for renovation and improvement of society and of social and production relations."

In this view, the new order is objectively endowed with inexhaustible potential for improving all its economic, technical, social, political and cultural-ideological structures, and the major aims of the present stage of Romania's development, which are scientifically defined in the documents of the 13th Party Congress and the National Party Conference, are tasks of the greatest revolutionary significance.

The process of implementing socialism's set of values is also a profoundly revolutionary one. Formulating those values, which shape socialism's present and future politically, morally, culturally, etc., and implementing them on the level of the community are very far-reaching tasks. By the same token, promoting socialist humanism and implementing the set of principles and standards that define the humanist ideal of the new order require a sustained effort, a revolutionary spirit, dedication and an effort to keep improving the management of socioeconomic activity as well as political-ideological and educational work. All this brings out the continuity of the revolutionary effort throughout the whole process of socialist and communist construction even more clearly.

#### **Univ Prof Dr Ionel Hagiu: "Dialectical Unity of the General and Particular"**

As we know, socialism, like any other social system, has its objective laws and keeps improving in accordance with the facts and requirements of each developmental stage. As Nicolae Ceausescu says in his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, the RCP has always proceeded from the revolutionary view that "Socialism is achieved differently from one country to another and in one stage or another of social development, and that the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism are applied differently by each party to the actual conditions in the respective country."

In its whole conceptual content and by its very nature, the revolutionary theory always encourages comparison with experience and critical review of any concepts,

theories or opinions that no longer agree with the new or with the facts and requirements of practice. It is this receptiveness that makes it possible to create, to enrich the treasury of ideas, and to apply the laws of socialist revolution and construction consistently and creatively to each country's particular conditions. This interpretation of the nature and role of the revolutionary theory, fully established by the party in the years since the Ninth Party Congress, is a major contribution to its enrichment and advancement in today's world, in the historical practice of our era, and in the present worldwide confrontations of ideas.

The revolutionary theory has demonstrated the existence of general, objective laws of social development, along with the existence and effect of distinctive structural features of certain social situations.

The existence of general laws of revolutionary social reform by way of socialism is borne out by the whole experience of previous socialist revolutions. Essentially, socialist revolution and construction are called upon to resolve the same kind of contradictions (between exploiters and exploited, etc.), to establish the same kind of political power and economic relations, and to meet the main requirements for fulfillment of the historic mission of the working class. As the RCP Program points out, the nature of the political power and production relations, transfer of the state power into the hands of the workers and institution of socialist ownership of the production means, abolition of exploitation of man by man, and application of socialist principles of distribution are and always will be essential to socialism. Those general principles are valid for all countries taking the course of socialism. Of course as the socialist revolution is won in more countries, as more peoples shift to socialism, and as world revolutionary experience is augmented and enriched, new concepts and general laws of the revolutionary process will continue to be formed and new factors will enter into their formulation.

The general laws are always applied under particular conditions, national, historical-social, economic, political or intellectual, differing from one country to another and from one stage to another. Therefore the success of the Communist Party's strategy and tactics heavily depends upon understanding of the particular and consideration of the specific circumstances under which the general political policy is applied. The RCP keeps pointing out the fact that in their constant state of change the socioeconomic processes will not and cannot follow an even evolution without contradictions, and it works consistently for dialectical unity between the general principles and the specific facts. As Nicolae Ceausescu says, "Socialist construction must be based both upon the general laws and upon the actual economic, social, historical and national conditions of each people and country. Any disregard of the general socialist laws and principles can do great harm and even jeopardize socialist construction, while in the same way disregard of the



actual conditions and application of models or patterns that do not allow for those conditions can cause great difficulties."

Sound knowledge of the general laws of social development and understanding of the relationship between their action and the particular conditions differing from one country to another and from one stage to another are the ways to generalization of the new in social practice. Of course the specific measures and the social-political relations promoted in any one part of the world cannot be considered universally valid prescriptions patterns or models to be followed. Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We make no claim that the way we have solved the new problems is to be a model for anyone. We feel that what we have done is based upon the Romanian conditions but also upon the socialist principles, so that the basic considerations of social development will be the collective emanations of the best forces that our society has in various fields."

The general is structurally involved in the particular and individual, taking form only under certain well-defined circumstances. The continuity of the historical process in any country invalidates any possibility of "transplanting" any particular model (considered "unique") for conducting the revolutionary process to other countries. History fully confirms the fact that social progress is made in particular ways characteristic of a group of countries or a historical stage but also in a variety of individual ways characteristic of a given country or a given stage.

Romania's experience in socialist construction, as well as the other socialist countries' results, provide a rich treasury of lessons and conclusions for further expansion of the efforts toward socioeconomic development. The present stage of socialist development calls for further improvement of the new order on the basis of the results obtained and the laws of social development.

As Nicolae Ceausescu says in his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, the problem of improving the activity and eliminating any defects or errors in order to secure socialist construction is on all the socialist countries' agenda in one form or another. Of course there are various ways of handling these problems in one country or another. It is well known that since the Ninth Party Congress the RCP has taken a number of steps to improve management, planning and organization of the national economy and has provided for a new, original and unique organizational structure for the masses' widespread democratic participation in the management of socioeconomic activity and in management of society as a whole. All these measures and the principles promoted by the RCP for development of the national economy and society as a whole have proved their viability and are entirely suited to the present stage of the nation's development. Therefore for Romania

today it is not a question of making structural socioeconomic changes but of better implementing the general party policy in practice and improving the existing structures and mechanisms, as Nicolae Ceausescu says in his speech of 29 April 1988. He says, "We are proceeding from the fact that this is a constant, daily necessity. There is nothing that was resolved once and for all. Let us keep in mind that we must perfect and make improvements in our entire activity in keeping with the new objectives and the present stage of development in all fields!" Certainly the new order must be improved by creative as well as consistent application of the principles of historical and dialectical materialism and of scientific socialism, as the RCP keeps pointing out.

Of course applying the general laws under particular specific conditions does not mean exalting the particular or individual to the point of departing from the requirements and fundamental principles of scientific socialism. Observance of those principles is indispensable to the success of socialist revolution and construction and improvement of the new order, and it guarantees fulfillment of the essence of the new society. On the other hand, disregard of the specific conditions and failure to solve the basic problems of socialist revolution and construction in close connection with the specific-historical facts result in artificial constructions and mechanical copying of models, and the revolutionary process cannot attain its ends.

In view of these considerations the RCP is working consistently toward the best measures for building and improving the new order, which measures are based on the general laws and past experience in socialism and world development but also allow for Romania's specific-historical conditions, the requirements and conditions of its present stage of development, and the necessity of progressing to a higher stage of development.

The party's conception of the dialectical relationship between the general and the particular as well as Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works as a whole are vital to arming the masses with the scientific interpretation of the economic, social and political processes and phenomena characteristic of the world of today. By mastering the methods of determining and interpreting reality, the RCP provides for uniform management of socialist society in keeping with the current needs of its development by formulating and consistently promoting the revolutionary strategy for national progress reflected in the RCP Program for Building a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism, in the decisions of party congresses and national conferences, in the other party documents, and in Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical and practical works, which are brilliant contributions to generalization of experience in socialist construction and to enrichment of the theoretical treasury of the revolutionary dialectical-materialist conception and of scientific socialism.

**Univ Prof Dr Ion Lupu: "Diverse Revolutionary Conditions and a 'Single Model'"**

Constant adherence to the dialectical principle of unity in diversity is one of the sources of the immense reforming power and viability of the RCP's revolutionary policy. This methodological position, peculiar to historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism, was reaffirmed to a new and brilliant effect by Nicolae Ceausescu in his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, which is a new and brilliant contribution to the development and enrichment of present-day revolutionary theory and practice. This important program document stresses the fact that in its entire activity the RCP has been proceeding from the revolutionary view that socialism is achieved differently from one country to another and from one stage of social development to another and that each party applies the objective laws and principles of scientific socialism differently to the specific conditions in the respective country.

The rise and evolution of all social systems demonstrate the universal validity of the said dialectical principle most cogently. For example, when we consider the presocialist systems based on exploitation, we find that one and the same socioeconomic structure has taken a great many forms in various areas and countries of the world because of the great diversity of spatial-temporal, material and cultural conditions. In the modern period, for example, the way in which capitalism arose and was established in the course of the collapse of feudalism (a spontaneous process like those in the previous historical periods) was extremely varied, with a great diversity of structures, forms and rates both in the western European countries and in the central and especially eastern European countries, so that we cannot speak of the distinctive features of this process in North America. The diverse conditions also explain the historical gap between the first and the second stage of capitalism in various states and even continents. While the West was shifting to monopolist capitalism and imperialism at the end of the last century Romania, for example, was one of the countries still in the first stage of capitalist development (as the party secretary general pointed out with profound arguments), while entering into the orbit of imperialism solely as a subject of interimperialist disputes and efforts to reapportion the areas and spheres of influence.

As a manifestation of common traits and trends, contemporary capitalism presents an infinite variety of conditions and aspects as regards developmental level, sectorial and regional structures of material production, national and transnational forms of exploitation, political relations and systems, ideological persuasions and trends and other kinds of cultural phenomena as well. They are characterized by many far-reaching contradictions, and over-emphasizing the clearly necessary attempts to classify them would inevitably oversimplify

the real picture. Accordingly there is no single model of capitalism that could have been transplanted mechanically from one country to another or could be today. The American attempt to impose and generalize the so-called American way of life throughout the capitalist world was a notorious failure, since that model was rejected by the other capitalist states as unrealistic and unsuited to their socioeconomic development and to the current internal and international conditions.

The standardizing viewpoint of the "single model" was emphatically and permanently refuted by the worldwide revolutionary process of transition from capitalism to socialism and of assertion of the new independent states formed on the ruins of the colonial system, a process characteristic of the aggravated global crisis of the capitalist system after World War II. In the countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America where socialist revolutions won out, the enormous diversity of historical conditions (different developmental levels of the production forces, differences in the social structures, extremely varied national and cultural traditions, etc.) has necessitated a corresponding diversity of revolutionary strategies to do away with exploitation and economic backwardness and to build a new and modern socialist society in freedom and independence.

Inevitably the strategies will be more diversified as more peoples chose the socialist path of development because the conditions of the revolutionary process will be more diverse. As it says in the RCP Program, "The future transition of more peoples to socialism will have to be based on the urgent requirements of existence and the new social conditions in each country, and not on patterns devoid of viability. The diversity of the specific socioeconomic and political conditions and the distinctive features and historical traditions of each country will bring about a wide variety of forms of transition to socialism and more and more new specific methods, experiments and measures in socialist construction."

Socialist social reform is an eminently purposeful process in which the social-subjective factor plays a critical part, and it required plans or models of socioeconomic development incorporating and making good use of each country's particular conditions, requirements and material and human potentials, on the basis of thorough scientific knowledge and rational and realistic judgment. The development and application of original internal strategies that can make the best use of each country's and each people's resources and energies have been, in practice, a very complicated and lengthy process not without ideological tensions that has been conducted in opposition to the dogmatic, reductionist and stereotyped views about the "single model," which spread opinions in a certain period in the world revolutionary movement that were abstract and divorced from reality from the very start.

The "single model" theory has proved to be a regrettable and harmful anachronism, a veritable "bed of Procrustes" on which a forced concentration of the

inexhaustible and changing diversity of the specific historical conditions under which the world revolutionary process has been going on was attempted with bad results. Actually the oversimplifying viewpoint of the "single model" led to the arbitrary compression of that process, to artificial, nonviable "leaps" over some objectively necessary stages, and even to an obstruction of the real revolutionary prospects. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We have been proceeding from the fact that socialism is built under different conditions from one country to another and from one stage to another, that there is not and cannot be any single model for socialist construction, and that each party and each people must choose the course of its development and of socialist and communist construction in freedom and independence."

Close and intensive study of the facts and the specific historical conditions in their changing diversity and entirety is essential for formulating any scientific theoretical generalizations or realistic concepts that can explain the socioeconomic phenomena and processes, facilitate prediction of their future evolution, and permit determination of the options, priority objectives, courses of action and tasks for the next stage of the revolutionary process. Constant consideration of each country's actual conditions and particular history is indispensable to the correctness and epistemological and operational value of the formulated options, concepts and objectives as well as a safeguard against any oversimplification or forced generalizations and extrapolations.

This requirement includes the theories and concepts formulated and applied by the RCP and its secretary general concerning a multilaterally developed socialist society and the ways of developing it. These theories and concepts formulated with consistent application of the fundamental principles of socialism are also influenced by the Romanian conditions and have a high explanatory value and a great operational capacity, mobilizing, organizing and guiding the entire people's energies toward intensive development, the most effective use of resources, further improvement of all workers' material and cultural welfare, and development and improvement of society as a whole.

Consideration of the diversity of the conditions is also important from the standpoint of the action of the objective economic and social laws and knowledge and use of them in socioeconomic practice. As theoretical expressions of the necessary and essential causal relationships among the economic phenomena and processes, the economic laws are the result of an effort toward scientific abstracting. Moreover these laws, including the very general ones, have a specific determination and their action is always affected by the specific historical conditions of each country and each historical stage. In warning against fatalistic and abstracting interpretations, Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the National RCP Conference that "We understand the role

of the objective economic laws, but they cannot take effect automatically and must be applied in accordance with each country's social and economic conditions."

Any of the economic laws can illustrate the considered and specific-historical way of applying and using the objective laws. For example the law of socialist accumulation, as an expression of the necessity of expanded socialist reproduction, must be consistently applied in distributing the national income between the accumulation fund and the consumption fund. But the proportions of that distribution differ of course from one country to another, depending on the level of development and modernization of the production forces, the degree of receptiveness to the advances of the scientific and technical revolution, the extensive or intensive character of economic growth in the given stage, the country's immediate and long-range interests, the volume and structure of the material resources, the quality of the manpower potential, etc. In view of the nature of those conditions in Romania, the RCP opted for a high accumulation rate, regarding it as well as more efficient accumulation as decisive factors for building a modern and efficient economy on a high technical level and optimal ways of correlating the nation's present and future. Experience and the results obtained demonstrate the correctness of this principle and confirm the viability of our party's and state's economic policy.

The success of socialist construction depends considerably upon study, knowledge and proper use of all the objective economic laws, viewed in their specific-historical interaction. Overworking any given law at the expense of others is of course a manifestation of reductionism and an underestimate of the extensive possibilities of the objective laws as a whole. Nicolae Ceausescu said about this in his Report to the National Party Conference in December 1987 that "We understand the role of the economic laws, but in that light it is difficult to understand how regulation of the problems of socioeconomic development can be left solely to the law of supply and demand and the laws of the market. It is difficult to provide for progress through so-called market socialism. We must keep in mind that the increasingly complicated questions and the introduction and application of the new advances of science and technology do not diminish but lead to development of the role of the Unified National Plan, which represents the people's purposeful, organized effort toward harmonious development of the production forces and of the whole country and society!" As we know, the market and its laws (the law of value especially) are certainly not overlooked in our party's and state's economic policy. But the market is integrated in the system of planned uniform management of the national economy as an important factor for the output of the social product and, on the level of the socialist enterprise, as a *sine qua non* for meeting the requirements of economic-financial self-administration and as a source of the information needed for adjustment of production to the real needs. The economic position, solvency and profitability of an



enterprise depend upon an assured sale of its products on the domestic and foreign markets. But in a socialist economy it is not the market that automatically regulates the social production structure (in fact that does not happen in the developed capitalist countries either, where the so-called free market is manipulated by the monopolists in power) but the purposeful effort of society to gain a profound, detailed and realistic knowledge of the resources and social needs and to reflect the objective proportions among them in the Unified National Plan in keeping with the particular conditions in each stage.

Of course the absence of any "single model" for socialist construction also means the absence of any single formulas for improving the strategy adopted to say nothing of some generally valid requirements for structural economic and social change. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Speech at the Meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee on 29 April 1988, "The economic principles and organizational structure that we have correspond to the present stage of our development. We already have a long experience, and we have no problem of making structural changes in them, but one of implementing them better and taking steps to further improve the activity." If they are to actually obtain the results essential to steady progress, every socialist country and every Communist Party must act solely in accordance with the particular socioeconomic conditions in the effort to improve socialist construction. Careful analysis of those conditions is critical in this respect too, as well as consideration of the new results of previous development, correction of any discrepancies or dysfunctions arising for any reason, elimination of the routine phenomena that may occur in certain periods, etc.

As we know, the party's efforts to improve economic and social management and that of society as a whole according to the new conditions and requirements of transition to an intensive-qualitative kind of development have been going on for about 2 decades. With his great insight the party secretary general perceived the economic and regional units' inadequate initiative and the obstacles to general improvement of economic efficiency and formulated the principles of a new economic-financial mechanism harmonizing uniform management of the national economy, the role of the central organs, and the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development with workers self-management and with more responsibility and functions for the enterprises and the basic socioeconomic and regional-administrative units. In the years following the Ninth Party Congress this created a broadly democratic system for the entire people's participation in national management via some elected representative bodies and some original forms of direct democracy on the national level, on the sectorial and regional levels, and on the level of each basic unit, with broad functions and prerogatives in socioeconomic management and discussion. This system, that of workers revolutionary democracy, has proved entirely correct. As

Nicolae Ceausescu said at the plenum in February 1988, "To be sure every country solves its problems according to its internal conditions as it thinks best. We make no claim that the way we have solved the new problems is to be a model for anyone. We feel that what we have done is based upon the Romanian conditions but also upon the socialist principles, so that the basic considerations of social development will be the collective emanations of the best forces that our society has in various fields."

**Dr Marin Nedeles: "Correlation of National and International Experience"**

Socialist construction is a very far-reaching creative social undertaking, influenced in each country by the historical and national conditions under which it is conducted and by its progressive forces. The current revolutionary theory has fully confirmed this basic law of the rise and development of the new social system, which is of fundamental importance to an understanding of all problems of socialism in the world of today.

The fundamental principles of scientific socialism and the general rules of construction of the new society are implemented under a great variety of conditions from one historical period to another, from country to country, and from one stage of socialist development to another.

Actual social practice and experience form the crucible in which all the parameters of change interact and the essential, the repeatable and the pattern in which they acquire particular forms and contents are revealed more and more completely and appropriately. The general and the objective laws of socialist construction have no existence in themselves, outside of the actual forms of reality. They exist only in the particular and by virtue of the particular. As Nicolae Ceausescu says in his Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well, "We proceeded from the revolutionary view that socialism is achieved differently from one country to another and in one stage of social development or another, and that the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism are applied differently by each party to the actual conditions in the respective country."

The entirety of specific national experiences provides the basis and the ground for theoretical synthesis of international, universal social experience and for forming conclusions with a broader or general validity. Creative application of those conclusions according to the conditions and requirements in each country engaged in socialist construction is an urgent necessity for the success of that effort and for avoiding the sterile attempts and the errors and impasses that have occurred in the past, as well as a prerequisite for lending a purposeful, scientific character to socioeconomic development. But this does not mean mechanical copying of

other countries' experience, and it by no means justifies simplistic and harmful ideas about building socialism according to a single pattern.

As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his Report to the Fifth National RCP Conference, on the basis of these fundamental guidelines the RCP has been applying the general laws and the principles of scientific socialism creatively to the Romanian conditions. At the same time, it has been proceeding from the fact that socialism is built under different conditions from one country to another and from one stage to another, and that there is and can be no single model for socialist construction but each party and each people must choose the course of its development and of socialist and communist construction in freedom and independence.

Of course this theoretical delimitation and basic policy, which are conclusions from an important stage in the fight against the dogmatic ideas that had come to predominate at a certain point in the international communist movement, do not mean ignoring or denying the great importance of studying other countries' experience in socialist construction and of regular exchange of ideas and experience among the communist and workers parties in the countries building the new order. The party secretary general says, "We have always proceeded from an understanding of Romania's potentials and actual conditions, but we have also studied and will go on studying the experience of other states and peoples in socialist construction. We will keep coordinating our own experience dialectically with the experience of other parties and peoples and with world social experience in order to find the best solutions to the many problems that arise, but we will always allow for the fundamental, revolutionary principles of scientific socialism."

The more remote and more recent history of the international workers movement and of relations among the socialist countries indicates that what has harmed those relations, the general socialist cause, and the very development of the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism has not been creative application of its principles or of elements from the experience of other parties and countries. What was profoundly damaging was the demands for global acceptance without discrimination and imitation of the specific policy and decisions of other parties and countries, as well as determination from outside (with no sound knowledge of the situation and by ignoring the elements entrusted democratically by the people and the working class of the respective country with the management of their nation's destinies) of the ways and means of socialist construction, of the rates of implementation of the necessary changes, of the specific solutions to be given to the various problems of socioeconomic development, etc. These stands and practices flagrantly conflicted with the requirements for the revolutionary theory's development through generalization of the specific experience of the real social movement by distorting the role of the theory, emptying it of its creative spirit, and transforming it into a collection of

administrative prescriptions whose application restricted development and artificially generated contradictions and disturbances in society.

Study of other parties' experience and of advanced world thought and practice, their clear and independent evaluation, and careful selection and creative application of what proves highly valuable and effective according to the conditions in one's own country have always been requirements of socialist construction, of development and creative application of the revolutionary theory, and of scientific knowledge. Along with strict observance of the requirements of scientific analysis, this requires avoidance of any tendency to impose one's own policies and measures upon others and enforcement of the full right of every party and of the leadership of every country to determine their internal and international policies and the forms of socialist construction that best suit their own conditions by themselves. In this way experience can be exchanged and one's own experience can be coordinated with that of other countries extensively and successfully, thus making a valuable contribution to enrichment of the common treasury of revolutionary thought and experience, to accelerated socialist construction in every country, and to the advancement of socialism on the world scale.

Dialectical coordination of national with international experience, objectively necessary in all stages of socialist construction and of the advance toward communism, is particularly important in the present period of the socialist countries' development, when the agendas of practically all these countries include in one form or another the problems of intensive economic development and rapid and extensive assimilation of the advances of the scientific and technical revolution and those of improved social organization and management and elimination of defects and errors in order to secure the development of socialist construction.

On the basis of those considerations the RCP and its secretary general have made a major contribution to the theoretical interpretation of the dialectical relationship of the national to the international on the level of the natural and necessary exchange of ideas and experience among the socialist countries and among the communist and workers parties, to determination of the standards that are to govern the exchange consistently, and to extensive promotion of bilateral and multilateral meetings to implement it.

The 13th Party Congress reaffirmed the RCP's opinion that meetings and consultations, including organization of regional and international consultations and conferences, are indispensable to contemporary development. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his report to the congress, "We intend that these consultations and conferences shall be for a free exchanges of opinions, without making decisions or imposing any points of view upon other parties. While firmly opposing any interference in other parties' affairs, we do not think we should be afraid to

meet and to discuss and find the way to strengthen solidarity and unity, since that is a prime factor for the unity of progressive, revolutionary forces everywhere, for the policy of socioeconomic progress, and for collaboration and peace in the world."

In this spirit, the RCP is participating in bilateral and multilateral meetings and consultations with other parties and making an active contribution, at the meetings of the leaders of the parties and socialist states and at the conferences of the secretaries of the parties' central committees on various subjects, to the sessions, discussions and other international scientific meetings, to the exchange of opinions and experience, and to correlation of the general conclusions from socialist construction, which enrich and develop the theory of scientific socialism according to the historical conditions of our era.

**Univ Reader Dr Ilie Seftic: "Every Party's Right to Its Independent Revolutionary Strategy"**

The growing diversity of the socioeconomic, political, national and other conditions under which the communist and workers parties operate, the new problems generated by the contemporary revolutionary processes, and the great and serious problems of international affairs, all these call for a new and creative approach to the vital problems of social development, formulation of political strategies on the basis of the specific-historical conditions, and constant enrichment of the revolutionary theory, historical and dialectical materialism and scientific socialism with new theories and conclusions on the basis of the necessities of life, the actual conditions in each country and throughout the world, and the requirements for securing independence, peace and progress for all nations of the world.

Experience, the supreme criterion of truth, and past experience with socialism make it abundantly clear that no one can know the actual economic and social-political conditions in a given country better than that country's revolutionary party, and that it is only by basing their activity on the actual social, historical and national conditions in each country that the revolutionary and progressive forces can play an important part in politics or can successfully conduct the struggle innovating social reform. Of course it is the inalienable right of each party to formulate its strategy and tactics, internal and international policies, specific objectives, and forms, ways and means of action independently and in keeping with the conditions and interests of each country and each people. The party secretary general says, "Experience proves more and more strikingly that determination of the ways of accomplishing the revolution and the transition to socialism and their peaceful or nonpeaceful nature as well as the forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle and of construction of the new order depend upon the specific national historical situation and the particular historical conditions in each country. That is why determination of the revolutionary strategy and tactics and evaluation of the courses to be followed

are the exclusive problems of each party, and no one can take upon himself the responsibility of advising any party or interfering in its affairs, because the choice of the ways to struggle belongs solely to each country's internal social forces."

This principle, fully verified by past experience in socialism, was reaffirmed with new and particular brilliance in Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech on Some Questions of the Management of Socioeconomic Activity, of Ideological and Political-Educational Work, and of the International Situation as Well. That important program document stresses that fact that the new principles of relations among the revolutionary parties give priority to every party's right to determine its political policy independently with no outside interference.

Observance of every party's right to determine its revolutionary strategy and tactics and its general course of action independently is a basic requirement and a sine qua non for securing a new unity and solidarity in the international communist and workers movement. Achievement of this unity is facilitated by the radical changes in the last few decades in many communist and workers parties' way of thinking and acting. As the RCP has pointed out, this reflects a new development of their ideological and political awareness and corresponds to the new realities of the world of today. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the meeting in Moscow in November 1987, "We must realize that new political thinking is necessary. We can no longer go back to the conference in 1960 nor to the previous ones either."

Actually in their whole theoretical and practical activity the communist and workers parties have created and are developing new relations among themselves, which are and must be based squarely upon the principles of independence, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, friendly mutual aid and international solidarity. Without consistent application of those principles, which form a single whole, there can be no strong, viable unity able to meet the present requirements of the struggle for national independence, social progress, socialism and peace.

It is well known that diverse conditions and internal situations in rapid and complex evolution as well as the evolution of international affairs can give rise to different interpretations of phenomena and different opinions on one subject or another. Actually this reflects the communist parties' growing maturity and their ability to give their own answers to the new problems of the revolutionary struggle. These differences of opinion must be discussed in a principled spirit of respect for every party's position, with no reproaches or criticisms of other parties or any actions that would harm the cause of unity and solidarity.

It is to the particular credit of the RCP and its secretary general that in recognition of the existence of disagreements in the communist movement, they kept advocating their resolution by political means, through meetings



and conversations from party to party and from leadership to leadership, with due respect for each party's interests and point of view and with the political will and desire to find mutually acceptable solutions. Development in the communist movement have fully confirmed the realism of this idea and of the conclusions and positions formulated by the RCP. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In view of the far-reaching problems confronting the world of today, we think every effort must be made to resolve any disagreements, to strengthen solidarity, and to achieve a new unity based on equality and respect for each party's right to formulate its political policy independently and in keeping with each country's historical, national and social conditions."

The RCP feels that in order to be strong the communist parties must keep strengthening their ranks, enhance their influence on the masses in each country, and strengthen their own unity, which considerations are also indispensable for any extensive collaboration, for development of international solidarity, and for the new kind of unity.

It is vital to the solidarity of all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces everywhere to further strengthen friendship and collaboration among all the socialist countries on the basis of their unity of social systems, ideologies and basic aims and of promotion of relations among them characterized by friendship, full equality, unfailing observance of national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in internal affairs, collaboration and friendly mutual aid, which relations are expected to become examples for all countries and peoples of the world. Collaboration among the socialist countries naturally requires recognition of the fact that socialism is built under great diversity of conditions, so that in formulating its revolutionary strategy and tactics and in implementing its policy each party must take account of the general laws as well as the distinctive characteristics of the respective country. As Nicolae Ceausescu said over 2 decades ago, "The problem of choosing the courses of socialist construction one for each party, each state and each people. No one can pose as an advisor or guide concerning the way socialism is to be built in another country.... Our activity is based on our responsibility to the people and to all workers of all nationalities."

The revolutionary parties' independence and each party's right to determine its national and international policies do not in the least conflict with the general interests of socialism, the communist movement, or strengthened international solidarity. On the contrary, practical experience bears out the conclusion that the communist parties can play an important role both nationally and internationally and can develop lasting ties of unity and solidarity among themselves simply by promoting a creative and independent revolutionary policy in keeping with the real interests of the working class and of their own people and with the major requirements of the world of today. That is why the RCP

and its secretary general especially emphasize the need for every revolutionary party to promote an independent policy and the necessity of forming and consolidating a new unity of the communist movement as a sine qua non for strengthening the power and prestige of the communist movement.

By acting in this spirit, the RCP is further strengthening and widely developing relations with all communist and workers parties and working consistently for consolidation of their international solidarity and collaboration and for a new unity. In the RCP's view, reaffirmed in Nicolae Ceausescu's speech on 29 April 1988, it is particularly important now to hold meetings and discussions on general current questions and to arrange international or regional conferences of the communist parties "based on the new principles of equality, which rule out any interference in other parties' affairs."

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**Ilfov Rural 'Sistematizare' Described**  
*27000105 Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian*  
8 Jul 88 p 3

[Article by Octavian Stireanu: "On With Bolder Steps Toward the New Rural Civilization"]

[Text] The Ilfov Agricultural Sector knows systematization very well. We are talking about the territory around Bucharest which has engaged in a natural resonance, shall we say, with the powerful rate of urban and architectural change which the capital city is undergoing. More specifically, we are talking about a start toward a new life which has been taken or will be taken by the 38 communities in this region. And going one step further, we are talking about a new level of social civilization which in 1986 involved 208 families, in 1987 another 3400 families and this year yet 12,000 more—these figures representing the number of newly built and occupied apartments, inhabited by former or new tenants—these same peasants. And finally, really getting to the heart of the matter, we are talking about the experiences on a personal scale, about the sentiments and morale, the thoughts and concerns of each of these people, placed in a situation that "tore" them from a way of life they had inherited from past generations and caused them to take a leap to another way of life required by future generations. What was the nature of this leap? What were the methods and outcome? What was the investment, in materials and of the soul, of visionary thought and the responsibilities of the present that demanded this basic reconstruction of the Romanian village? And at what point do we fuse the political option for this major social undertaking with the human expectations for a better and more civilized life on the part of every inhabitant of our present villages? These are questions which we need not avoid and which find their answers no where else but in the new reality, one that truly exists and is ever more encompassing in the life of our villages. Putting into a true light this new reality is a

task of honor and an obligation of conscience toward the lives of our parents, toward the past of our ancestors, toward those pillars of the country who were and remain the peasants. Below we will take on such a necessary project, in the necessary light of certain transformations which we will see, were every bit as necessary.

The reconstruction of the Romanian village is not, and cannot be interpreted as a simple administrative act of changing the domiciles of certain people from one place to another. The reconstruction of the Romanian village is the practical expression of a fundamental political option of our party which at the 9th Party Congress launched an historic challenge to underdevelopment and backwardness. This challenge foreshadowed the directives and objectives of raising our country to a new peak of progress and civilization. In other words, the civilization of our country is the synthesis of the civilized lives of our localities and their people.

I brought up this idea in a conversation I had with Comrade Viorel Vizureanu, first secretary of the Ilfov Agricultural Sector party committee, as we were driving toward the new village quarters. "Village systematization must be understood in the larger social context, in that which brings us toward the future and does not leave us in the past. It must be understood in the trends it promotes and the significance it has for the general progress of our country. The village as the basic social unit and entity must keep in step with this progress—it cannot be left out in the work of building the new multilaterally developed society. And I would make another remark, much more concrete, and that is, along with the move to new housing, there will be some changes in the way people think, in their habits and their usual ways of doing things. This will even include the ways they arrange the things in their homes and their use of new facilities in their new dwellings. There will be new social relationships, collective behavior; they must come together and help one another; communicate with one another and act in an ambiance dominated by the influence of public opinion. All of this contributes, very precisely and very concretely, to what we call the new man. Or do we propose to form this new man only in the cities? The systematization of the villages is one of the ways in which we create this civilizing matrix in which the fundamental elements of the new man are prodded, stimulated and validated in step with the general countenance of the builders of our socialist society. From this perspective, the recent working visit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu was the occasion for an exceptionally important clarification concerning the new type of rural setting. It helped reinforce the social and economic benchmarks which this matrix of socialist civilization must keep in sight."

One can speak of this "civilizing matrix" because from an architectural and construction point of view, it now exists. Going from principle to practice presupposed and presupposes the inevitable stage of design: we systematize, but how? The specialists provided us the answer.

The architect Stefan Datcu, investment coordinator in the concerned enterprise, reaffirmed for me an elementary issue and obvious matter: "The social units which are to bring the villages up to the cities' level of civilization cannot be introduced into some thinly settled or widely scattered city structure—the alternative is concentration and fusion. Once this principle is established, there is another just as important—setting up spaces according to the same rules as for urban areas." In other words? "In other words, put very simply, the dining room, the bedroom, the bath, the height of ceilings and other dimensions are the same for an apartment in the village as for one in the city. This matter is more important than it appears, keeping in mind an observation, a question of equality if you will, each man, regardless of where he works, has the same general needs. In other words, the comforts of the dwelling must satisfy everyone, both in the village and in the city, somewhat in the same way."

I returned to the question of concentrating space: what criteria were and are being used? The new character of this ample theme that is rural systematization caused the architects at first to turn to the criteria that they had at hand, namely the socioprofessional character of the region. For example, at Bragadiru, an industrial-agricultural area, type P+2 and P+3 houses predominated, with sewage, water, electricity, telephone and even central heating for every apartment. There was also a 50-square-meter garden lot per apartment. At Cornetu, however, a totally agrarian community, the little P+1 houses predominate with agricultural lots the maximum allowed by law, 250 square meters per apartment, or actually 1,000 square meters for each house having four apartments. Additionally these P+1 houses were allowed outbuildings of different types—stables for cattle, coops for fowl and, above, lofts for storing feeds.

New housing started in 1986 in accordance with the socio-professional criteria, had, after a certain date, to conform to new criteria that were more nuanced and more in keeping with the particular area and the trends toward urbanization of each locality. In building the new projects—we are told by Engineer Dan Anastasiu, the institute's technical director and Architect Traian Popescu—attention was paid to a whole range of factors which come into play in a given region. A standard procedure was established which included the following phases: a territorial study, a sketch of the locality, and the detail for systematization and the plan for execution. From this grid, three categories of projects were identified: for C.U.A.S.C. centers that could become cities, for central communes and for member villages. "This process of categorizing," Traian Popescu explained to me, "represents a step forward and it is more in keeping with reality in that it is normal for the seat of an agro-industrial council to have a supplementary allotment in order to give direction to the other localities in the respective council. In this spirit, and during his recent on-the-spot analysis of the way in which the work of systematizing localities in the Ilfov Agricultural Sector

was progressing. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu formulated some particularly valuable directives for our work and for that of the local party and state organizations. But he also gave us very valuable principles because he defined the complex of attributes which will define the modern configuration of the new cities." Thus, it was decided that at Bragadiru, for example, which is a sort of C.U.A.S.C. center, that there would be a 100-bed hospital, a swimming pool, dispensary, pharmacy, a birthing center, and a high school that meets the specific economic needs of the region. Simply by saying this, the respective institutes will give birth to the city of Bragadiru—its people will no longer have to travel one after another to Bucharest to go to the hospital, to buy medicines, to give birth or to study at the high school level. And the children in the communes will no longer have to go to school at Bragadiru or Bucharest for the first level of high school (grades 9 and 10) as soon as these classes begin in every commune. This gradation of village-commune-agro-industrial center truly expresses the needs and the possibilities for development of each rural locality, because in each case it calls for the appropriate institutions with appropriate size and profile. For example, in Otopeni we will build a sanatorium and a bakery center; but these are not necessary in any of the smaller communities. What are needed in every community are bakery shops—and these we will construct (now there are only 13 instead of the 38 we need). With each commune having its own bakery shop, this should diminish the transportation of bread from the city to the village.

Taking a term from design—we cannot avoid the "two details" of systematization: land and comfort.

As a result—not as a premise—of the systematization of the 38 communes in the Ilfov Agricultural Sector, half of the arable land will be returned to agriculture. Many or few—every "new" square meter that will produce grain is welcome. Where was this land obtained? That is obvious. What is important is that in the commune, more land will be worked, this land will be worked by the people of the commune. Hence you cannot say that there has been an "uprooting" of the peasantry; but a stronger rooting of them in agricultural work. Several elements attest to this: the fact that every family has its own garden, that outbuildings for animals, fowl and farming implements were provided, that members of the cooperatives benefit from the auxiliary lot established by law, and last but not least, the fact one cannot change the status of "peasant of a cooperative" of one who has moved from the courtyard to the apartment bloc as long as he works the land. It is only that from this time forward, he will work but have other living conditions: the citizen remains with the same rights and the same duties but on another level of life style.

"Now, it is no secret that some of those who have received new housing used to have, perhaps, gardens much larger than the 250 square meters called for in the law. All legal," Comrade Vizureanu continues,

"because for this supplementary acreage they would receive production plans but this did not stop serious losses of produce and an arbitrary cultivating of the land. Systematization brings with it order and equity in using the national treasure that is the land. Some had richer land and some poorer; some along water and others along the forests—obviously the sources and levels of income were different. Now with the land being redistributed according to the law—laws which are based on the fundamental principles of our socialist society—an equal share is reestablished for all in this fundamental means of production. Furthermore, the land 'added' from all sorts of isolated parcels, yards and gardens will be used in the collective interest, being uniformly cultivated and in accordance with a production plan established as a function of need—cultivated, I repeat, by the men of the commune, there are no others involved."

As far as comfort is concerned, the point of departure is different. Architect Traian Popescu told me calmly that "There was not a single demolition of a house in Bragadiru that bothered me. The majority of them had thin walls that were thermally inefficient; some even had timber walls with no proper insulation. The living spaces were not efficiently organized; most were 'shotguns' with one room added after another." And even where this was not the situation, the problem was the same: adapting to the living conditions of an urban area. Here first of all we have the "tenant reflex,"—there should be running water, the stove should work, that there be sewage. There are many such dwellings constructed, but not all of them. In the majority, water was obtained as before, heat as it was before, bathing done as in the past, group sanitation is as it was before in the old village. But, if in the village center perhaps there was not a well, now there is one nearby, specially drilled; if before not everyone had terra-cotta stoves, now there is one in every apartment; if before many lived in dilapidated housing now everyone has well-apportioned apartments and live in conditions equal to those who, "in the old village," had 10- to 15-room houses. And in this vein, equality is quite measurable. Yes, there were incidents like that at Bragadiru when those who dug a well used iron instead of cement pipe, and the water rapidly became undrinkable—but for that, those who made the mistake will be held accountable; and of course not all the terra-cotta stoves are perfect—because stovemaking is an art that not everyone has mastered, but anyone can repair the stove. Of course, many now long for water in the bathroom, rapidly forgetting the washing trough in the old village—and that is only natural. What I am trying to say with all of this is that "systematization" is a word which covers a diverse, complex and sometimes delicate reality. Systematization is a process, not a given; it is something in motion, under adjustment, being adapted. It has not been in some immutable state since its inception. The permanent dialog of the party's secretary general himself with citizens, with village inhabitants and with specialists suggests an eloquent concern to find optimum solutions for the urbanization of rural localities.



I thought that the outlook of Stan Ilie from Cornetu was stimulating. It is true he makes tires—a producer of a variety of tires in a cooperative. In Buda he had an imposing home. He had to move to a “four roomer.” But on a condition—that he be allowed to build an annex for two cows, two pigs and who knows how many geese. He did not carry on for a minute: he took it right in stride, continuing to be a peasant with a sense of humor, stable. I met many similar people who understood that it is expected that they will perform good household management now that the conditions have been created for them to do so.

The process of systematization is still at the beginning—and there are many things that will come up that are impossible to foresee. Who is going to take away the garbage? Does this have to be addressed by the town managers? It must be. Or, as the party secretary general revealed during his recent working visit, at Otopeni, a future agro-industrial city, they forgot to plan for a sports arena—something that is very obviously necessary. So systematization is not over when one moves into his new dwelling: I would say that it has just begun—through the good-will efforts of everyone, work to transform the home into the life that you want and not to transform your life into the home you have.

Among the questions that systematization has raised is “a detail” that is hardly negligible: pressure from the construction organizations to put up housing that is most profitable. Specifically, the contractor wants to build the buildings higher and to go from the pitched roof to the flat roof—both of these demands are contrary to traditional rural dwellings. It is hoped that the “draftsman” will resist such appeals even if, at the time, the builder prefers them. Because of this matter, many systematized areas are unfinished at present—having only what was profitable for the builder to build.

12280

#### Dean of Literary Criticism's Career, Work Discussed

**Cioculescu Adopted 'Rationalist' Path to Truth**  
27000103 Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in  
Romanian 30 Jun 88 p 11

[Article by Mircea Iorgulescu: “The Last of the Old Timers”]

[Text] Serban Cioculescu, who remained a lively, active, and stirring literary presence until the very last moments of his life (his last “Breviary” appeared in our magazine only 1 month ago, on 19 May) appears to have consistently declined, with a secret and ironical obstinacy, the status of “monument” of our literary criticism, which he would have otherwise totally deserved. He was the last of the old timers, the last representative of the third post-Maioreescu generation according to E. Lovinescu's classification, and “a valuable vestige from the

times of normal criticism,” as Marin Sorescu had poetically described him in honor of his 80th birthday; but he never withdrew into the abstract and conventional solemnity of a role that would have destined him for festive but noncommittal attitudes untouched by disagreement. Like any genuine critic, he counted not so much on the authority gained in the course of a long career (65 years of literary criticism—a lifetime!) as on being continuously involved in a literary life in which he felt and viewed himself as a participant rather than an observer. Although the object of his criticism was only rarely current literature, one would have to have a limited, and indeed restrictive and distorted understanding of the concept of contemporary literature to claim that Cioculescu had withdrawn into the history of literature and “philological esoterica.” From the trenches of those seemingly non-topical interests his ever fighting spirit expressed itself fully with the same vigor and militant radicalism that had distinguished him from his first debut as a literary reviewer (FACLA LITERARA, 1923). His intrinsic polemic had not atrophied, but had only changed form—that not for strategic considerations—and had continued to cause unease and to elicit reactions that were at times vehemently suburban, and that is the premise of genuine criticism. When the literary scene of the recent time is objectively and calmly reconstituted, future literary historians will note that the “venerable dean” of our present literary criticism was always at the hub of confrontation, as was only fit, and that honors did not attenuate antagonisms born of Serban Cioculescu's continuous opposition to everything apt to limit, alter, or cloud the free exercise of literary thought.

The observation most often heard in connection with his work and career is that as a critic he remained always constant, always himself, fixed in a rationalist attitude that proceeds from methodical doubt in the pursuit of truth. An admission made in 1943 and reiterated on several occasions in various forms became the incontestable proof of an immobility that was repeatedly, if not directly, imputed to him: “From the beginning,” Serban Cioculescu wrote, “I want to confess a structural vice: I have not evolved, nor do I intend to evolve. I am too old to flatter myself with the illusion of interesting variation. For 20 full years, since I anchored myself in a position that I would define as intellectual and aesthetic, I have never felt the need to change my perspective for the sake of some undefined revelation. From the very first moment I aspired for that objectivity of judgment that guarantees understanding of the most varied literary works, and I never trusted, not for a moment, the feminine whims of subjectivity, although they can produce charmingly impressionistic reviews. The record of bankruptcies includes that of dogmatic criticism. In the past, the critic's prestige was based on a handful of immutable convictions whose impact relied on rigidity and never on the approximation of beauty. All that is left from dogmatism is the memory of either architectural monuments which, after being imposing for a while soon fell into lamentable ruin, or of imperious personages who

tried unsuccessfully to regenerate or recreate their era. The idea of authoritative criticism, which thought itself destined to reform both literature and the taste of the public, was discredited together with dogmatic criticism. Such an illusion is no longer possible." There followed a profession of faith that Serban Cioculescu consistently observed: "The critic must courageously stand up against errors or confusions entrenched in public opinion. In the name of his passion for beauty he must brave any risk, uphold his beliefs, jolt prejudices, not spare fake writers, and communicate both his enthusiasm and his scorn. Independence is the necessary condition for his profession and its pride. Naturally, an experienced critic should not by definition be feisty or provoking. The most unpleasant truths can be delivered elegantly and courteously. Irony is often a more cutting weapon than abrupt frankness. The lengthy practice of criticism refines the means of expressing disgust, as well as pleasure. A certain literary epicurism is not bad for a mature critic securely anchored in a neutral perspective. However, when the skies are clouded over by the renewal of a philistine attitude, the critic should not forget that his long association with culture obligates him to shake off any apparent indolence. At decisive times, his word must regain the glint of steel and the sharpness of the sword. At such times, his voice is not only the voice of beauty, but also the thunder of truth, unrestricted truth, whose fearless assertion is vital for the climate of light required by Art." This confession, made during the war, when beauty and art seemed to have been exiled to the outskirts of interest and to have become a luxury and a dangerous superfluity in juxtaposition to oppressive daily reality, acquired the significance of a declaration of faith in the values of the spirit. Above and beyond unstable momentary conditions, above and beyond the ephemeral authority of reductionistic laws, and above and beyond the uniformity and constraints of everyday life, the critic placed his passion for beauty, inseparably allied to the need for truth, and he did so not as a challenge, but out of an immovable conviction. This attitude was characteristic of the new type of writer that emerged in our country in the period between the world wars, according to whom intellectualism was the main moral and aesthetic support of literature. Entirely marked by the lofty stamp of spiritual freedom and independence, Serban Cioculescu's literary criticism remains the precious testimony, built up over six and a half decades, of an exemplary dedication to the values of our national culture. Our descendants will envy us for the privilege of having been his contemporaries; he was the last of the old timers.

**Cioculescu Defended 'Democratic Values'**  
27000103 Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in  
Romanian 30 Jun 88 p 11

[Article by Z. Ornea: "Serban Cioculescu"]

[Text] There was a column left from the pleiad of our great literary critics of the period between the two world wars. It was lasting, luminous, and erected high so as to

guard our horizon and guide us. We liked it and we needed to contemplate it and often to use it as a compass. We looked upon it with admiration and with almost filial gratitude, and this column, named Serban Cioculescu, reminded us of his colleagues Calinescu, Pompiliu Constantinescu, Vladimir Streianu, Vianu, Ralea, and even the older Lovinescu and Ibraileanu. Of all the critics of his generation, fate wanted Serban Cioculescu—who to me, every time I saw him, was the embodiment of the thinking reed—to outlive all the rest. Physically he had been the most fragile of all. That was, he once told me, a quirk of fate in which he did not dare to believe as a young man. Rationalism, secular par excellence, obeyed with smiling wisdom and continued to rule unperturbed.

Since 1923 when he made his debut in *FACLA LITERARA* as a literary critic, and later with his weekly column in *ADEVARUL* (then on a monthly basis in *REVISTA FUNDATIILOR REGALE*), Cioculescu distinguished himself as one of the greatest literary critics of the time. And not only of that time. His judgment, always axiological, was above all inseparably linked to the great literary period between the world wars. Whatever part of that golden literary period we may consider, we find his name and views in the forefront. He watched over its evolution and contributed greatly to its configuration. Its great values found in Serban Cioculescu not merely a connoisseur, but also a reliable support. Who could ever forget his battle in defense of Arghezi's work? Or the more general struggle to legitimize the modern poetic language denied by rather powerful figures who thought that it was possible to stay at or return to Vlahuta's period? Together with his colleagues, Cioculescu was always on guard, carefully dissociating values, dispelling confusions, removing dangers, and defending genuine literature. The only criterion guiding his evaluations was the aesthetic criterion. And he was unyielding and unforgiving in implementing it. He was nicknamed "Serban the Mean," when in fact he was always only just. Where was there room for "goodness" in a strict court which, when in session, was oblivious to conventions, conjuncture, or friendship? (The unsparing asperity with which he reviewed a book by his good friend Vladimir Streianu became famous). His critical style, modeled on Thibaudet's, was eternally to the point, it was explicative-descriptive, and it rejected excessive emphasis on aesthetics and the use of metaphor. He believed—unjustly, I venture to think—that literary criticism must eschew literary devices because it is not identifiable with literature, and he thus placed it exclusively in a secondary position. The style of his criticism was precise, rigorous, and persuasive and his value judgments were pronounced calmly, firmly, and directly. But what humor and implicit irony there was in his critical pieces! And with what great pleasure they were read, are read, and will be read! To me they are densely packed pages of wise literature, and his "Reminiscences," humorous, colorful, and not overly nostalgic, the recreation of an extraordinary period and world, will remain in the history of Romanian memoirs.

A columnist par excellence, untiringly alert to spotting the valuable among the moving sands of current new publications, he also cultivated classical literature. He was profoundly versed in that literature, beginning with the chroniclers, through the Transylvanian School, and down to his contemporary period, which in time became classical itself. However, his great passion was Caragiale. He took over from Zarifopol the critical editing of Caragiale's works, ensuring the faultless publication between 1938-1942 of the last four volumes, after in 1935 having brought out the "Correspondence Between I. L. Caragiale and Paul Zarifopol." Later, in 1959, together with Alexandru Rosetti and Liviu Calin he brought out in a new variation, with more analytical commentaries and variations, the edition that has remained a model of its genre. Truly fascinated by the personality of the playwright, he also wrote a biography, which soon became famous, "The Life of I. L. Caragiale" (1940). But he still did not view his mission as completed and he continued to untiringly study that universe, unlocking new significance, secrets not immediately visible, and meanings that had been obscure until then. For him the playwright's work and life embodied an eternally living world that outlived its existence by being ethically typical and by immortalizing traits of the spiritual formula of the environment. That is why he gave it the title "Carageliana" (1977). It is the name of a continent that stood the test of its time and of all times, whose contours the critic guarded, protecting it against impurities, false interpretations, and distortions. He seemed to have assumed the mission of an ecologist concerned—justly so—that the wonderful continent of Caragiale may be threatened. He thus protected it from anything that might endanger it, continuously discovering in it profound values and meanings. Later, accustomed to see paradigms and territories forming special universes in the works of certain writers, he gathered everything that had been written about their lives and work in books with similar titles. That is how "Eminesciana" and "Argheziana" came to be in 1985. Serban Cioculescu's world was the world of great souls in which he had spent a lifetime and in which he had been placed by his rank and authority; from there he communicated to us messages of wisdom and beauty. He carried out his mission not stiffly or with rigid solemnity, but with good nature and charm, always finding the right tone and the right measure. He found them because he himself was a sage.

The way he lived voluptuously in the world of books, this great critic and passionate bibliophile always made me think of Anatole France's Monsieur Bergeret. It was a spectacle worth seeing to behold him pick up a book, eye it admiringly, delicately stroke it with his fingers, carefully turn the pages, and then the unending anecdotes about its history.

This noble intellectual who, I repeat, seemed to me descended from the spiritual family of Anatole France, was—precisely because of that?—a lucid democrat, too, who defended democratic values with relentless fierceness. In the 1930's he realized the threat of fascism and fearlessly stood up against it. He was not content to merely condemn its political hideousness, but also, if not particularly, the fascist manifestations in culture and literature, such as they were. Because the latter, being intolerant, strove to divert art and literature from their mission, to impose excommunications, and to establish aberrant hierarchies according to stupid criteria, including racism. Serban Cioculescu believed that it was his duty as a citizen and as a literary critic to firmly express his views. Let us recall his advice in June 1943: "In the dialectical play of our culture, artistic literature and aesthetic criticism form one of the poles of the Romanian spirit—the superior pole, needless to say. For as long as history requires it, let us continue the uneven dialogue in which we pit the serenity of a non-aggressive faith against denunciation, slander, and demagogical hatred.... Amid the hubbub of cultural politicians, the purest militant action of literary criticism is to exercise its permanent office of separating beauty from the many surrogates that are invading literary life...." That is an advice that defines the lofty mission of critical judgment.

Conscientious in his duties, Serban Cioculescu continued to write to the last month of his life. His column in the weekly "Breviary" of ROMANIA LITERARA was undoubtedly one of the most widely read. Together with others by younger colleagues it imparted dignity, professionalism, and stature not only to the magazine, but to Romanian culture itself. With his passing, a great and invaluable vestigial column has collapsed. Will we, his unworthy continuators, be able to symbolically restore it on its socle, carrying further its judgment and ideals?



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### CEMA Countries' Role, Trade With Europe Discussed

**Role of CEMA Countries in World Economy**  
24000130 Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech  
22 Jun 88 p 1

[Text] In recent decades, the countries affiliated with the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA) have undergone dynamic development. For example, in the period of 1951-1985 their aggregate national income grew 9.3-fold; industrial production 15-fold; agricultural production 2.7-fold; foreign trade turnover 37-fold. The West European EEC [European Economic Community] is outstripping the socialist community significantly with its pace of economic growth. In the 1st half of the 1980's, however, this lead no longer increased, perhaps because the Western countries experienced a cyclical crisis in 1980-1982. During this period, the pace of development in CEMA countries was the lowest in the entire postwar period and socioeconomic acceleration actually became a necessity from the standpoint of the requirements of internal development and of strengthening CEMA positions in world economy.

Among others, the important position of CEMA member countries in world economy is documented by the fact that these countries are currently producing approximately one-fifth of the world's production of electric energy, they are extracting one-fourth of the world's oil, one-third of all the natural gas and coal, and are producing one-fourth of the world's steel. These countries employ fully one-third of scientific workers of the world, they account for 40 percent of the world's patented inventions, and a number of scientific successes enjoy worldwide significance.

The scientific and production potential of CEMA countries has assured the existence of a firm basis for their position in world economy. However, the degree to which this potential is applied in the international division of labor remains significantly low. Their share in world commerce is incomparably lower than it is in the other macroeconomic parameters; it is currently 10 percent and has virtually been unchanged over the past 10-15 years. If we compare the volume per capita exports, then, at the beginning of the 1980's, exports from CEMA countries were 4.1 times lower than those from the EEC, 1.7 times lower than those from the United States, 2.4 times lower than those from Japan. Despite the fact that our countries significantly exceeded the world average level in the product of national income and of the most important types of products, it was not possible to achieve such results in foreign trade.

These indicators are not uniformly the same in the individual countries of CEMA. For example, such indicators are significantly more favorable in the group of European countries than the average for the entire

socialist community of countries; nevertheless, even in this average they are twice as low as in the EEC. In the USSR, these values are also lower than the CEMA average. The Soviet share in the world market thus far does not reflect the attained level expressed by the need for economic development in the USSR. Consequently, the resolution adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress, the July plenary session of its Central Committee in 1987, and the adoption of measures to perfect the management of foreign trade relations, as well as to promote the development of new forms of foreign cooperation, are aimed at activating the participation of the Soviet Union in the international division of labor and in world economic contacts, as a whole.

The main position in intersystem economic contacts is occupied by contacts between CEMA countries and the developed capitalist countries—in other words, East-West contacts. However, the share of these contacts in world commerce is relatively small and represents roughly 3-4 percent which is completely out of line with their position in world economy. In addition, the 1985-1986 period saw a further reduction in the volume of commercial exchanges between a number of CEMA countries and the West.

The principal reason for this unfavorable development is the overall situation in world economy. After the decline of production in 1980-1982, the leading capitalist countries underwent an economic revival and then the tempo of growth in their economies slowed down again (particularly in the United States and in Japan) which was manifested in a decline in their demands for imports. Under conditions of an unstable economic situation, protectionist tendencies in these countries are gaining strength and contradictions are being sharpened—all the way through renewing the warfare between three centers: the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

The discriminatory policy of the West vis-a-vis the socialist countries is becoming manifest in the use of traditional tariff-like and "new" nontariff trade restrictions. Trade between East and West was directly damaged also by various economic sanctions, embargoes, by the credit and technological blockade of the socialist community, applied particularly by the U.S. side, and by U.S. allies in NATO during the 1980's.

However, last year CEMA trade with countries of the EEC once more registered an increase. This bears witness to the fact that both sides recognize the inevitability of mutual cooperation and intend to assist in the further development of economic cooperation on a worldwide scale. A concrete expression of this effort is the joint declaration covering the initiation of official contacts between CEMA and the EEC, which will be signed in Luxembourg on 25 June.

One of the factors which also influences the development of international economic relations is the instability that exists in the economic situation, which is being manifested in sharp swings in world prices, in foreign

exchange rates, and in interest rates. Following the rise in world oil prices in 1973-1979 and in 1979-1980, these prices underwent a sharp decline in the 1st half of the 1980's which resulted in the decline of the prices of other types of raw materials and energy. Although the period of greatest decline has obviously already passed, it is by no means possible yet to speak of a renewal of the previous rising trend.

These changes in the price sphere, accompanied by sharp declines in the value of the dollar, and the consequences of this decline, must naturally exert an influence upon the entire system of world economic contacts, including contacts between the East and the West. Changes in the trends involving the dynamics of the most important parameters of world economy also had an impact on the development of commercial and credit relations between CEMA countries and nonsocialist partners, a development which had its unfavorable manifestations, among others, in the structure of the goods exchange between the East and the West. Since energy and raw materials commodities occupy the top position in the exports of countries of the socialist community to the West, export earnings were significantly reduced and, clearly, import opportunities were also substantially restricted.

The countries of the socialist community are focusing the main effort to create the prerequisites for the activation of their participation in world economic contacts upon their own domestic economic development; this is understandable, since the key to solving a certain part of the problems lies precisely in this sphere, in the development of the individual national economies. The planned changes in the structure, in investment and social policy—in other words, changes in the national mechanisms—are oriented toward the realistic intensification of production, toward increasing efficiency on the basis of the technical modernization of the leading branches of the national economy. The restructuring of the economic mechanism, based upon organically connecting centralized management in the most important strategic areas with a significant expansion of rights and responsibilities ascribed to the principal production links, the transition to implementing full cost accounting [khozraschet], attention to obtaining economic returns, and the introduction of self-financing are designed to create such a climate which would favorably influence the joining of the economy in the broad international division of labor.

In a number of CEMA countries, associations and enterprises have been given the right to conduct foreign trade activities; this right is adjusted by the state in the national interest. The direct integration of production and foreign trade activities is one of the key factors by which the socialist countries can take a more active part in international economic contacts.

In this development, a role is also to be played by the decisive turn toward the use of new and progressive forms of international economic cooperation, such as

industrial coproduction and joint undertakings. The inclusion of the capital of Western firms through the medium of joint enterprises located in socialist countries has, as experience has already shown, a number of advantages (access to modern technology and management methods; economic returns realized on the basis of invested funds, etc.). In other words, all complications involved in world economic development, which are only partly dependent upon the countries of the socialist community, stand on one side; on the other side, there are the internal economic problems of the CEMA countries with which, of course, each individual country of the community must deal with on its own or through assistance rendered by one country to another. Both the consolidation of relationships on a worldwide scale, in other words, primarily of East-West contacts, and the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the CEMA countries are essential to the healthy functioning of the world economy.

**East-West Trade Forecast to Year 2000 Published**  
24000130 Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech  
5 Jul 88 p 1

[Text] Under the conditions of the weakening of negative influences exerted by political-strategic factors upon economic relations between the European CEMA countries and the developed capitalist countries during the 2d half of the 1980's, the significance of economic conditions governing the future development of foreign trade relations between these groupings is growing. In view of the decisive share for which the West European capitalist countries account in the flow of foreign trade between East and West (see data in Table 1 below), the signing of the declaration on official contacts between CEMA and the EEC represents an important favorable political-strategic condition for the improvement and establishment of more favorable economic conditions for these relationships.

Results of comparative prognostic analyses agree in their conclusions with the proposition that exports of CEMA to the developed capitalist countries are decisively influenced by the overall import demands of these countries and by the competitiveness of the products of socialist countries which are exported to these markets.

The development of the import demand by European capitalist countries in the period through the year 2000 will be influenced by the realization of a coordinated strategy designed to renew and increase the balance of the foreign trade flow between three basic centers of the developed capitalist countries, that is to say, between the regions of western Europe and Japan on the one side, and the regions of North America (particularly the United States) on the other. The prosecution of this strategy would increase the role played by internal national economic demands and by imports in the economic growth of western Europe and Japan. According to the results of prognostic analyses conducted by the

Economic Commission of the United Nations Organization for Europe, the average annual pace of development of total imports to European capitalist countries is expected to rise from 2.9 percent in the period 1974-1985 to 4.0-5.8 percent in the period 1986-2000. A particularly express increase in the dynamics of imports flowing into this region of the developed capitalist nations is expected to be registered by fuel commodities (from 0.3 percent to 3.5-4.0 percent) and products of the processing industry (from 4.3 percent to 4.3-6.5 percent).

Under these circumstances, a considerable demand for imports should develop in the markets of the West European capitalist nations in the period up to the year 2000 and should result in potential room for imports from the European CEMA countries. It is particularly the maintenance of a high demand for imports from the processing industries in this market which is in line with the conclusions of the European CEMA member countries to prosecute a change in the structure of the goods they export to these markets in favor of a higher degree of processing. But even despite the realization of this developmental trend, the considerable amount of asymmetry which exists between the structure of exports from the European CEMA countries to this market and the structure of the overall imports by West European capitalist countries having a considerably higher share of products from the processing industries would be preserved (its share is supposed to increase from 61.0 percent in 1985 to 63.7-68.0 percent in the year 2000, see Table 2).

Assuming the realization of this very optimistic projection of exports from the European CEMA countries to the markets of Western Europe, there should be a certain increase in the share of imports of individual product categories from socialist countries to these markets: in foodstuffs from 2.0 percent to 2.4-1.8 percent; in raw materials from 8.0 percent to 9.5-8.6 percent; in fuels from 17.6 percent to 19.2-18.0 percent; and in products of the processing industry from 2.9 percent to 3.9-3.8 percent. The listed data clearly contain the prerequisite for maintaining the position occupied by socialist countries in covering the West European import demand for fuels.

Apart from favorable factors in the export of goods from the European CEMA countries to the developed capitalist nations, it can be anticipated that a number of tendencies will be active involving the closing of these markets to the exports of socialist countries. These factors will include, for example, increases in the role played by internal national economic demands in the region of North America and the creation of a so-called European Economic Area by 1992. A number of analyses covering its creation draw attention to the possibility that the markets of the EEC could be closed to third countries, particularly to the European CEMA countries. Also, the projections of the Economic Commission for Europe do not foresee an increase in the share of the other regions in imports to western European countries (from 33.3 percent in 1985 to 33.5-33.6 percent in the

year 2000) and the share in the overall imports by these countries accounted for by imports from the European CEMA countries is expected to decline slightly (from 6.5 percent to 5.9-5.8 percent).

Whether the European CEMA countries maintain or increase their share in the markets of developed capitalist nations in the next 15 years will depend not only on the creation of technical-economic conditions on the part of the European CEMA countries, that is to say, increasing the competitiveness of exported production, not only from the standpoint of its technical-economic parameters and appropriate technical and other standards valid in these markets, but also on improving political-strategic conditions on the part of the developed capitalist nations which would open up their markets to other countries.

Developments of imports by the European CEMA countries from the developed capitalist nations will be influenced primarily by prosecution of the import-export strategy in socialist countries over the next 15 years which stresses the express renewal of the role played by imports in covering national economic demands, as well as by the modernization of the production-technical base which is increasingly based on the transfer of scientific-technical progress from other parts of the world, particularly from the developed capitalist nations. A favorable factor should also be the expansion of all forms of cooperation between the European CEMA countries and the developed capitalist nations, particularly between the European capitalist nations and their integrational groupings (such as the EEC and the ESVO) and the socialist countries. This tendency should be favorably influenced by the fundamental change in the system of management which emphasizes production-technical and commercial independence on the part of primary producers in the socialist countries.

The preservation of the importance of imports from developed capitalist nations to cover overall import demands in the European CEMA countries in the period through the end of the 1990's should be influenced also by the necessary modernization of that portion of the production-technical base which was established with the use of machines and installations imported in the previous time frame. (In the period 1961-1985, imports to the European CEMA countries from nonsocialist countries were valued at \$189 billion (in 1975 prices), and involved machines and installations.)

It can also be anticipated that the deepening of socialist economic integration between CEMA countries will not close this market for other countries of world economy. This is the proposal underlying the projections of the Economic Commission for Europe dealing with the share of the other regions in the total imports to the European CEMA countries, which is projected to remain at around 53 percent, while the share of intraregional trade among the European CEMA countries remains at around 47 percent by the year 2000.



Table 1. Share of West European Capitalist Countries in Export and Import of Goods Involving European CEMA Countries and Developed Capitalist Countries (in percent)<sup>1</sup>

<u>Item</u>	<u>Foodstuffs</u>	<u>Raw Materials</u>	<u>Fuels</u>	<u>Processing Industry Products</u>	<u>Total</u>
Exports by European CEMA countries					
1985 <sup>2</sup>	81.0	89.2	97.3	90.1	94.1
2000	76.3-78.5	86.7-88.3	96.9-96.5	87.3-88.2	92.2-92.3
Imports by European CEMA countries					
1985 <sup>2</sup>	42.0	56.9	75.5	77.1	68.6
2000	42.6-42.8	58.2-59.6	77.3-79.4	73.0-75.0	65.2-68.7

<sup>1</sup> In comparable prices (1985)

<sup>2</sup> Actual

Table 2. Asymmetry in the Goods Structure of Exports From the European CEMA Countries Results Particularly From the Low Share of Processing Industry Products in Exports From the USSR to Markets in Developed Capitalist Countries (in percent; in current prices; in dollars for 1985)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Foodstuffs</u>	<u>Raw Materials</u>	<u>Energy</u>	<u>Processing Industry Products</u>
Six European CEMA countries	11.2	15.3	23.0	50.5
USSR	1.4	7.8	77.2	13.6

Table 3. Goods Composition of Foreign Trade Between the European CEMA Countries and West European Capitalist Countries (in percent)<sup>1</sup>

<u>Item</u>	<u>Foodstuffs</u>	<u>Raw Materials</u>	<u>Fuels</u>	<u>Processing Industry Products</u>
Exports by European CEMA countries				
1985 <sup>2</sup>	2.8	8.1	61.6	27.4
2000	2.7- 2.2	6.7-6.7	57.4-48.3	31.6-37.8
Imports by European CEMA countries				
1985 <sup>2</sup>	13.5	3.1	2.9	80.7
2000	13.9-12.4	2.9-2.7	2.8- 2.9	80.7-83.1

<sup>1</sup> In comparable prices (1985)

<sup>2</sup> Actual

The new concept of integrating processes within the community of socialist nations stresses that these processes are complemented by the increases in the dynam-

ics of egalitarian and mutually advantageous relationships between the East and the West. Under conditions in which the productive forces are becoming increasingly

internationalized, the economic costs of replacing these relationships would be significantly high.

Increases in (but also the maintenance of) the share which the developed capitalist nations account for in the imports to the European CEMA countries in the period through the end of the 1990's will also require considerable effort on the part of the capitalist nations in the removal of a whole series of export restrictions, particularly of key technologies (that is to say, continuation of the reevaluation of COCOM activities). However, increasing the import capacities of the European CEMA countries, which are dependent upon the attaining of the requisite financial resources resulting from exports to the markets of developed capitalist nations, remains as the decisive factor.

The growth in the import potential of the European CEMA countries for imports from the developed capitalist nations from \$48 billion in 1985 to \$88-113 billion (in 1985 prices) by the year 2000, as anticipated in the projections of the Economic Commission for Europe, accompanied by average annual import rates from these countries ranging between 4.1 and 5.9 percent, creates a considerable amount of space for the application of the production capacities of the developed capitalist nations.

Despite the complexities of accelerating the imports by European CEMA countries from the developed capitalist nations during the period leading up to the year 2000, it can be anticipated that ties formed in the past between these groups of countries, together with the realization of the requisite adaptation processes in the economies of the socialist countries (which are particularly creating conditions for the systematic lowering of the structural asymmetry existing in the flow of foreign trade between these groups of countries by raising the share of products having a higher degree of processing in the exports of European CEMA countries to the markets of the developed capitalist nations) and the continuation of favorable tendencies in the development of political-strategic conditions governing these relationships, can create firmer and more stable bases for economic cooperation between the East and the West and, thus, also for the more favorable development of worldwide economic cooperation at the beginning of the 21st century.

05911

#### **CEMA Problems, New Strategy of Socialist Countries Viewed**

24000143 Prague ZEMEDELSE NOVINY in Czech  
21 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by Ludek Urban and Michal Voracek: "Following the Prague CEMA Session: Problems and New Strategies for European Socialist Countries—The Only Realistic Alternative"; first paragraph is ZEMEDELSE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] At the end of the 1970's and at the beginning of the 1980's, the growth of national income and labor

productivity slowed significantly in the European countries of CEMA, including Czechoslovakia. Even though these are only two basic indicators of economic development, they represent only the tip of the iceberg of the difficulties for the European countries of CEMA. The CEMA countries have not proven capable of adapting to new internal and external conditions. The provisions of recent years only made it possible to increase the pace of development slightly. However, these are merely partial and more formal steps toward intensification which has, for example, characterized the economy of the United States since the 1950's and that of Western Europe since the 1970's. The strategy of accelerating social and economic development, which was articulated at the majority of the most recent congresses of communist and worker parties in the CEMA countries, is supposed to bring about a permanent application of intensification in these countries. Under what conditions is growth to take place? On what prerequisites is it based? What changes will its application bring about? All of these questions are the subject of concentrated attention in the socialist countries, particularly now, following the 44th session of CEMA in Prague.

At the turn of the 1970's and 1980's, a new situation developed in the economies of the European countries of CEMA (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Romania, and the USSR) with respect to changes which occurred in external and internal conditions. Today, these countries are systematically dealing with the situation and its problems.

#### **Extensive Opportunities Exhausted**

The economies of the CEMA countries and their economic ties are influenced by developments in world economy. Much changed in that economy in the 1970's and 1980's and is continuing to change. What was and is involved is a new quality of economic competition between socialism and capitalism, the constantly more express influencing of world economic relationships through international politics and, particularly, the more manifest influence exerted by the effects of the new phase of the scientific-technical revolution upon the development of production relationships. Further progress in the internationalization and specialization of production and new structural changes in the world economy cannot be overlooked, either.

The CEMA countries had to deal with shorter-term trends in the world economy, particularly with the crisis affecting the capitalist economies in the 1970's and 1980's. The steep price declines in the world market, particularly the movements of raw materials prices which resulted in the deformation of the CEMA market had a great impact on the CEMA nations. Their economies also reflect the clashes between states and their basic groupings (particularly between the developed capitalist nations and the developing nations or between the three centers of developed capitalism—the United States, Japan, and Western Europe) as well as currency and financial problems in the global worldwide framework.

These external factors of development in the CEMA countries during the seventies and eighties surface the inevitability of making a transition toward accelerating socioeconomic progress on the basis of intensification, as well as the application of new approaches in economic cooperation between CEMA countries. However, it cannot be attributed solely to worsened external conditions. The requirements for utilizing qualitative factors of economic development have long-term implications (in Czechoslovakia and the GDR since the beginning of the 1980's already) and stem from internal conditions: the opportunities for extensive factors have been exhausted. How does this specifically manifest itself?

### Results Below Original Intentions

In the first place, low national income growth rates between the 1970's and 1980's and at the beginning of the 1980's signal this situation. Whereas national income

in the European countries of CEMA grew by 6.3 percent during the 1st half of the 1970's, it declined to 4.2 percent during the 2d half of the 1970's and the results of 5-year plans remained beneath the original targets. This was repeated in the period 1981 through 1985 and in spite of some acceleration in 1985 and 1986 it also occurred last year. The CEMA countries got into serious problems. The national income in the European countries of CEMA, for example, grew at an annual rate of 3.2 percent in the 1st half of the 1980's in contrast to a planned growth rate of 3.7 percent. Also, the industrial production growth rate declined. The same is true of the social productivity of labor (see Tables 1 and 2). The same is also true of additional indicators of economic efficiency (for example, the effectiveness of capital assets). Furthermore, some CEMA nations had and continue to have difficulties with foreign indebtedness involving nonsocialist nations. The rates of growth pertaining to investments were lowered.

Table 1. Principal Indicators of Economic Development in the European Countries of CEMA  
(average annual increment during a 5-year period)

	Bulgaria	CSSR	Hungary	GDR	Poland	Romania	USSR
National income created							
1976-1980	6.1	3.7	2.8	4.1	1.2	7.2	3.8
1981-1985	3.7	1.8	1.8	4.5	0.8	4.4	3.2
1986-1990 (plan)	5.4	3.5	2.8-3.2	4.6	3.0-3.5	9.9-10.6	4.1
Industrial production							
1976-1980	6.0	4.7	3.4	5.0	4.7	9.5	4.5
1981-1985	4.3	2.7	1.3	4.1	—	4.0	3.7
1986-1990 (plan)	4.9	3.0	2.7-3.0	3.7-4.1	3.0	7.5-8.3	4.6
Labor productivity							
1976-1980	6.2	3.3	3.7	3.7	1.2	6.9	3.2
1981-1985	3.5	1.3	2.1	4.3	-0.1	4.2	3.0
1986-1990 (plan)	6.2	3.2	4.0	—	2.7-3.1	11.2	4.2

Table 2. Development of Labor Productivity in the European Countries of CEMA  
(annual and average annual changes in percent)

Country	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1981-1985	1986	1986-1990 (plan)
Bulgaria	3.8	3.6	2.7	5.1	2.1	3.5	5.9	6.2
CSSR	-0.4	0.2	1.9	2.8	2.4	1.3	2.5	3.2
Hungary	2.6	3.6	1.4	3.6	—	2.1	1.8	4.0
GDR	4.6	2.3	4.2	5.2	5.1	4.3	4.5	—
Poland	-12.2	-2.5	6.9	5.8	2.4	-0.1	5.0	2.7-3.1
Romania	2.8	2.2	3.4	7.3	5.1	4.2	6.6	11.2
USSR	2.6	3.2	3.7	3.0	3.4	3.1	3.8	4.2

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

Problems exist with regard to the low efficiency of external economic relationships. In terms of the standard of living, many countries set a goal for the 1st half of the 1980's of merely maintaining or possibly slightly elevating the standard of living achieved.

In the 1st half of the 1980's, thus, the attainment of developmental intentions in the economies of the Euro-

pean countries of CEMA became ever more difficult. The causes were to be found particularly in the following facts:

- The slight pace of scientific-technical progress. The dynamics involved in the absorption of science and technology in the economy, which is reflected in the rates of productivity, is inadequate in comparison with the developed capitalist nations.



- A disproportionate material and energy intensity. In comparison with industrially developed nations, the economies of the CEMA nations are consuming 40 to 50 percent more primary energy and two to three times more metal per capita.
- An unusually high degree of capital intensity and basic asset intensity on the part of the European countries of CEMA. The rise in investment activity during the 1st half of the 1970's, oriented toward branches which were capital-asset-intensive (particularly in the fuels and energy field) together with an inadequate rate of liquidation pertaining to obsolete basic assets, tended to create conditions for the continuation of extensive trends. The efficiency of basic assets, whose development (expressed as a ratio between national income and basic assets in production) is being lowered and is among the weakest links.
- An inadequate degree of specialization in the economies of the CEMA countries which continue to have an unsuitably concentrated and specialized scientific research and production base in view of the scale and opportunities at the disposal of the community, as well as from the standpoint of their inclusion in the worldwide division of labor.
- A constantly growing tie between the effects of the economies and the development of the environment—the seriousness of assuring an ecological balance is increasing.
- A separate question is the extraordinarily low rate of effectiveness shown by the currently extensive national economic mechanisms to handle the tasks involved in making the transition toward intensification.

The extensive nature of development "within" the community is also indicative of its mutual economic cooperation or of the gradual process of bringing the economies closer together and interconnecting them—integration. The bell has already tolled for the extensive model of international division of labor which was based primarily on the interbranch exchange principle (for example, the importation of fuels and raw materials from the USSR in exchange for finished products from other countries), there is no room for it. This is particularly so following the price fluctuations of the seventies and eighties (raw material prices increased) which caused a deformation in the CEMA markets. As was again heard at the recent 44th session of CEMA in Prague, the condition for intensification is a transition toward a technical-specialization model based on the intrabranched and intradiscipline division of labor and specialization and coproduction, particularly in the engineering industry, which must be tied into the specialized and integrated scientific research and development base of the individual countries of CEMA. This must be reflected in changes in the mechanism of mutual economic cooperation which has lost its reason for existence in its present guise.

### Stagnation in World Standing

Extensive forms cause negative phenomena which are of long-term significance for economic cooperation between CEMA countries. Among the basic ones are the blank spaces in the consumer-production structures which are reflected also in their mutual foreign trade transactions. The international CEMA market, thus, lacks a number of types of products, particularly those having higher scientific-technical and qualitative parameters. There is a significant amount of parallel production. Mutual trade is governed by "laws" which are strictly bilateral and balance goods deliveries by breaking them into hard and soft components, frequent priorities in the free exchange of markets; to the extent to which the opportunity exists to choose between these markets and the CEMA markets, even at the cost of failing to honor pledges (in the case of hard merchandise)—something which does not result in adequate sanctions. The exchange of high-quality engineering products is a bottleneck. Commerce involving consumer goods in high demand is weak. International specialization and coproduction is proceeding slowly between CEMA partners. A disproportionately broad production assortment must be devoted to this problem in some areas, etc.

Also, the mechanism of economic cooperation within CEMA with a number of fictitious instruments already no longer reflects the requirements of intensification, is interconnected with the national economic mechanism of the individual countries of which much the same can be said, as has already been stated, in the majority of cases, despite certain results of reform efforts in the 1980's. Many problems persist in the planning-coordination system of CEMA and particularly with respect to supply and demand instruments. Reserves do exist with respect to the activities of CEMA as an international organization. Cooperation predominantly takes place at the central level and is directed from above. Enterprises which are expected to show initiative "from below" have their hands tied because there is no rational criterion for participation in integration. The coproduction as ordered was and is frequently in conflict with the individual economic interests of the enterprises involved.

Extensive trends in the development of the individual CEMA countries and serious problems in their economic cooperation, which Soviet economists consider to be critical, led to the stagnation of the standing of the community in world economics. Among others, the tasks of economic competition with capitalism are, thus, threatened. During the 2d half of the 1970's and in the 1980's, the share of the European socialist countries in decisive economic indicators throughout the world has stagnated. For example, the share of these countries in the aggregation of gross domestic product is 15-16 percent today; the share in invisible world trade is approximately 3.5 percent and less than 4 percent is their share with respect to electronics production. The structure of exports from CEMA countries to nonsocialist nations is

approximately the same as the structure of exports by developing countries to the rest of the world. The productivity of labor in industry is an average 40-45 percent of the average levels attained in developed capitalist nations; in high-tech areas, such as electronics, it is 10-15 percent.

#### **The Goal of Acceleration and Intensification**

The tasks connected with increasing economic efficiency and the gradual integration of CEMA countries were set by the economic summit meeting of these nations in 1984. The fundamental collective goal is the acceleration of intensification. In this connection, strategic goals and tasks were established. They include primarily the accelerated transition toward intensive development and increased efficiency through perfection of the structure of social production, through the rational and economic utilization of the existing potential. Secondly, it is essential to assure the further growth of social production. The third goal is increasing the technical level, reliability, and quality of products and the further expansion and more rapid renewal of their assortment. The fourth goal is the more rational deployment of production forces. The fifth goal calls for the balancing of and bringing closer together of the level of economic development in the CEMA countries, primarily of the Cuban Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the levels of the economies in the European socialist countries. Apart from analyzing the situation and setting the goals for the individual economies, it was necessary to think through and establish new strategies in the economic integration of CEMA countries. Here, the basic intent is to deepen the coordination of economic policies of the individual countries. Another key problem is the collective solution of problems of science and technology in their tie-in with production activity. It was decided to realize the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress for the next 15-20 years (adopted in 1985). An important direction in increasing the efficiency of cooperation is the development of direct ties (direct co-production) between economic organizations. The nations also agreed that the mechanism of socialist integration will be gradually changed.

#### **Tasks Through the Year 2000**

Economic results and trends in the development of CEMA nations and their integration during the 1st half of the 1980's were judged at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and at the congresses of other communist and worker parties. In the majority of the countries, this represents the roots of the strategy for accelerating social and economic development through the year 2000 on the basis of applying intensive factors and restructuring the economic mechanism. These are reactions to the negative phenomena which are persisting in "internal" economies and to the loss of the dynamics of growth. The most important task is to accelerate socioeconomic

development. The principal means toward this end is scientific-technical progress and the attainment of a key technological level on the part of production.

Specifically, it can be said that:

- by the year 2000, the European countries of CEMA should double their national income compared to 1985;
- the tempo of investment growth through the year 2000 is planned in conjunction with the growth in national income. The strategy of acceleration will compel fundamental changes in the existing understanding of investment and structural policy;
- personal material consumption in CEMA countries should, by the year 2000, increase its function as a stimulator of working activity for people. This is primarily connected with the strengthening of the principle of merit in wage policies, but also as a result of assuring changes in the structure of personal consumption which will be aimed at activating the sphere of services. This is supposed to lead to the decline in the role played by food products in material consumption on the part of the populace in favor of a growth in the share of industrial consumer goods;
- it is essential to find priority solutions for some production-economic complexes and ties in the reproduction process which are the cause of low efficiency, which are counterproductive with respect to the development of personal consumption and which cause serious complications in external economic relationships. It is possible to include among these the agricultural-food industry complex, the fuels and energy complex, metallurgy, the electrotechnical industry, and the external economic relations of CEMA countries which have been overtaken by a wave of price movements and imbalances in the economic relations vis-a-vis the West.

#### **New Collective Concept**

The strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development in the CEMA countries cannot be enclosed in the vacuum of a national framework. It presupposes increased and efficient and tenacious participation in the international division of labor. It also requires (in this connection) that a transition be made toward the use of new methods of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the CEMA countries, including ties with other socialist countries (China, Yugoslavia, etc.). The pillar of the new procedure should be the realization of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress in the CEMA Countries Through the Year 2000. The CEMA countries, including Czechoslovakia, want to achieve fulfillment of this program of key world level for science, technology, and production. Solution of the established goals is expected to contribute to a situation which would call for a minimum of doubling the productivity of social labor in the community as a whole by the year 2000 and which would expressly lower

the consumption of energy and raw materials per unit of national income. However, for the present, the fulfillment of this program is absolutely failing to reflect this situation.

Even though in the 1980's certain successes were recorded in mutual economic cooperation, a view of this situation without the use of rosy glasses shows that there can be no talk by far of the required turnaround in integration—in the direction of increasing its influence upon the intensification of the economies of the socialist states and of the entire community. This situation was dealt with by the working session of the highest ranking representatives of the CEMA member countries in November 1986. After analyzing current pitfalls in the integration process, the countries agreed to speed up the realization of the Comprehensive Program, to work out a new collective concept of the international division of labor for 15-20 years, and agreed to create all conditions favoring the development of direct contacts.

At the same time, the partner countries agreed that the only way was to simultaneously restructure the mechanism of integration and of CEMA work. The beginning of this phase was marked by the 43d (extraordinary) session of CEMA. The conclusions of the current session in Prague, which adopted new collective concepts of international socialist division of labor for the years 1991-2005, were in this same spirit. Fulfillment of these conclusions should establish the essential room to permit the strategy of acceleration to attain the necessary international dimensions even though it is not possible to maintain that a single document (which was moreover achieved by way of large mutual compromises) could suddenly and fundamentally change the conditions under which economic cooperation between CEMA countries is taking place.

#### As Early As This 5-Year Plan

In other words, the economic policy of the European countries of CEMA is faced by the task of resolutely seeking a turnaround without delay. Its origins must be created even on an international level as early as the current 5-year plan. Even though the 5-year plans for the period 1986 through 1990 continue to place great emphasis on the growth of efficiency and quality (as was the case heretofore) it is, nevertheless, discernible in the majority of cases that there is a change in the existing understanding of intensification. The 5-year plans are primarily being connected with the acceleration of socioeconomic development, the necessary conditions for which are far-reaching structural changes, fundamental acceleration in the area of scientific-technical progress, and a substantial turnaround in existing methods of planning and management.

Increments in national income, which are the most aggregated expression of growth in the economic strength of the countries, are expected to be generally higher in the period 1986-1990 than they were in the 1st

half of the 1980's; in some cases, they even exceed the dynamic rates attained during the 2d half of the 1970's. Whereas the average annual increment in national income in the 1981-1985 5-year plan was roughly 3.1 percent, it is anticipated that the average rate in the 2d half of the 1980's will rise to 4.6 percent. Similar increases are expected to occur in the development of industrial production and—something which is particularly important—in the growth of labor productivity (see Table 2). The sole exception in all cases is the GDR which already achieved its acceleration during the 1st half of the 1980's and is orienting itself toward maintaining this relatively high growth rate.

However, with respect to higher growth rates we are already looking today primarily at their new quality. This is becoming manifest in the fact that higher increments in national income will be based not on growing inputs, as was the case in the past, but will be the result of higher efficiency in utilizing these inputs. The acceleration of socioeconomic development will, thus, be attained at relatively lower costs, as a result of universal and consistent intensification. This new approach is best seen in the role played by, and the position occupied by, the productivity of labor in this process. Higher increments in labor productivity should be assured despite the fact that the influx of manpower will be declining and despite the fact that a large part of the new manpower will be strengthening the development of the nonproductive sphere. In this new situation the productivity growth rates are already becoming virtually the sole and exclusive factor contributing to the growth of national income according to the plans for the current 5-year plan.

The problems can no longer be deferred from month to month indefinitely. It is necessary to apply the new orientation as soon as possible, even through collective effort, to renew economic cooperation in the sense of the resolutions adopted by the 44th session of CEMA in Prague. This is the only realistic alternative which the European nations of the community have in the 2d half of the 1980's.

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#### HUNGARY

**Minister Discusses Present, Future State of Industry**  
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[Article by Frigyes Berecz, minister of industry: "The Present and Future of Our Industry"]

[Text] The debates that preceded the party conference were passionate and frank. We were able to hear many different views, including also mutually conflicting ones, on what mistakes we made in the past, and what road we must follow to extricate ourselves from our difficult



situation. But everyone agrees that only rapid improvement of the competitiveness of our economy, and within it primarily of industry, can arrest the decline in performances and stabilize our equilibrium; and that only consistent implementation of the government's work program can achieve consolidation.

But are we really still able to catch up? Can we guarantee that we will finally begin to improve the economy's performance by implementing the work program we drafted and adopted last year? Or will this promise, too, remain merely a pledge while we continue to lag more and more behind technical and economic development? What lends more substance to our preparations this time?

### Competitiveness

Our most important task is to achieve, in our trade with markets denominated in convertible currency, a sustained large surplus that will enable us to continuously and sensibly reduce our accumulated foreign debt, while still leaving sufficient foreign exchange also for other things—e.g., for strengthening import competition, and for society's other objectives. Our situation is not irreversible so long as we are capable of the best possible performance in at least one or another line of products. If the economy is functioning more efficiently, even an initially modest success will become consummate; whereas in the opposite case even large performances will dwindle.

In the light of the harsh critiques of industry in recent years, it is hard to believe that there still could be outstanding market performances capable of pulling the entire economy along. And yet there are. Industry supplied 65 percent of the national economy's 4.7 billion dollars of export to capitalist countries last year. Within this export share, 70 percent went to the markets of countries with advanced economies; and 21 percent (650 million dollars' worth of merchandise) met all possible requirements—i.e., it was exported economically, in excellent quality, within the framework of permanent trade relations, to demanding markets, for cash. Admittedly, the range of indisputably successful exports covers 59 product groups made by merely 21 well-known industrial enterprises. Among these product groups we find modern light sources, highway vehicles and their principal subassemblies, industrial rubber goods and bearings, rolled aluminum stock and machining centers, outerwear and refrigerators, processed chemicals and pharmaceuticals, and mechanical instruments and electronic equipment. Which indicates that the possibilities for better marketing results already exist in several specialized subsectors of industry.

The performance of the successful enterprises first of all compels recognition: See what we are capable of doing! But immediately thereafter we also ask questions: How did they achieve this? Why are they achieving this with

only a sixth of industry's export to capitalist countries? And, most importantly, how can the exceptional performances be increased and generalized?

### How To Narrow the Technological Gap?

We know the common characteristics of this wide range of products. There is no significant gap between their technological level and the highest requirements specified by the world market; their quality is high and consistently uniform; and their production is economical even at world-market prices. In other words, these are the characteristics that ought to become general to improve market performance. But is it possible to narrow the technological gap in every specialized subsector of industry simultaneously? This question can be answered only in full knowledge of the facts.

The technological gap may be characterized by the length of time required to complete the development necessary for closing the gap, all other conditions being equal. In the machine industry, which primarily determines the technological level of industry as a whole, this time is less than 5 years for merely 5 percent of the products; from 6 to 15 years for 75 percent of the products; and 16 years or more for 20 percent of the products.

If we take into consideration also the fact that the peak performance to be achieved does not represent a final, rigid level of technology but continues to rise rapidly (more rapidly in some specialized subsectors of industry than in others), then it is evident that the task confronting us is indeed great, and we cannot start off and proceed in every possible direction simultaneously.

To accelerate technological development we have to concentrate our intellectual and material resources, and alter the conditions of research and development. We must realize that what is important is not simply the proportion of national income [net domestic material product] spent on research and development. In 1980-1987 we spent between 2.3 and 2.6 percent of national income on research and development, and the increase in R & D expenditure was more than 50 percent in 7 years. These proportions are close to the similar proportions in advanced countries, which the economy's planners perhaps find reassuring. But our proportions are in relation to the very modest national income of a small country, and therefore the amount actually spent on research and development is only a small fraction of what would be needed to achieve a breakthrough.

Experience shows that a prerequisite for consistently outstanding market success is the attainment of a certain "critical mass" of intellectual and material resources in the expenditures for research and development. The magnitude of this critical mass depends on the task, rather than on the size of the country or of its budget. Under our present circumstances, we are able to concentrate this critical mass only behind a few objectives. But

this is the only feasible way to extricate ourselves, rather than to spread a small amount of resources evenly, on the basis of some misguided principle of equity.

The quantity and quality of the assets available for development and production are decisive not only for narrowing the technological gap, but from the viewpoint of quality improvement and cost reduction as well. There are very substantial differences between the capital equipment ratios in the advanced countries and in Hungary. According to a 1982 statistic, investment in machinery per industrial worker in the FRG (converted into forints) was 350,000 forints, as compared with 58,000 forints in Hungary.

During the past six or eight years, aspiration to equilibrium has been the principal economic objective, and the allocations for all other activities—including industrial development—has been subordinated to this objective. Predictably, industry's stock of equipment began to deteriorate rapidly: today only three or four percent of this stock of equipment meets the most modern level, and the proportion of equipment already written off completely is 31 percent.

How can this deteriorating process be reversed as money becomes even more scarce? Only with a most circumspect policy on industrial development. At first we can undertake above-average development of capital equipment for one or two product groups in a few industries, with the intention of using their annually increasing yields to improve the conditions of development in more and more industries. On the basis of our considerations regarding both the technological gap and the stock of capital equipment, we come to the conclusion that decisive is the choice of the directions of development.

#### Without Risk?

But will we be able to avoid new mistakes with complete certainty? Obviously not. Risk-free directions will no longer be open to us. We will have to strive to make the risks of our industrial-development decisions tolerable. There are two important prerequisites for this. First, at the time of making the decisions we must take into account all available information and every competent opinion. Secondly, we must be assured that the parties concerned will continue to assume also afterwards the consequences of the jointly made decisions. This second prerequisite is necessary to enable us to exclude the fear of taking reasonable risks from among the forces shaping our future.

The fact that we are designating disinvestment in several industries as one of the future directions of industrial development may seem a contradiction only at first glance. Namely, in the interest of freeing intellectual, material and monetary resources, we have to withdraw from every area where (1) profitability cannot be achieved even with great effort, and (2) solving in other

ways the employment and supply problems resulting from the discontinuation or phase down of production will cost less than to continue maintaining loss-making operations.

During the period of stabilization, however, the widest road—i.e., the one that can be traveled with the least risk—is to reallocate existing manpower and assets, without major investments, to the production of more profitable goods, while gaining at the same time new markets to solve the problems of providing employment. This simultaneously offers an opportunity for better-organized work, for developing more effective forms of entrepreneurship, and also for uncovering and using latent internal resources.

The enterprises that already now have substantial and consistently profitable markets denominated in convertible currency deserve close attention. It is very likely that these are the enterprises which will be able to considerably improve their market performance the soonest, under more favorable conditions of development. Even if the limits imposed by the financial regulators cannot be removed for the time being in entire industry, this should be made possible in the case of the best enterprises. After all, the unrestricted development of these enterprises would eventually generate more revenue for the state budget than what the budget would seemingly lose through the removal of the limits.

Industry's present structure contains also gaps. Certain technologies are completely lacking, yet they are necessary for restructuring. We must decide whether to establish new enterprises, help existing ones adopt new technologies, or perhaps open the gates wider to imports. For it is usually costly to build new enterprises and to adopt new technologies. The decisions regarding new branches of production involve the most risk. Here we need the most information and experience. Our decisions will be easier to make if we also know, with a high degree of probability, how future demand will develop in the domestic market and the markets of the other socialist countries. Because then we can strive to recover our outlays in all markets simultaneously.

#### Structure of Domestic Demand Will Change

Because of the general state of our economy, we cannot expect domestic demand to rise in the coming years. But there are goods with which the domestic market is not saturated, and the demand for which is very strong even under the present scarcity of money. Such goods are, for example: housing, and all industrial goods necessary to build and furnish housing; cars; telephones; and more recently the technology for receiving TV programs transmitted by satellite. And in the demand for producer goods: any goods necessary to make a suitable final product that can succeed in the marketplace, or goods that can be sold directly while solving also their domestic supply.

All our socialist partners without exception are likewise striving to renew their economies. For their investments and to supply their populations, therefore, they are more and more inclined to buy only modern goods of good quality. In addition, they have more and more goods which they are able to sell also in markets denominated in convertible currency. Since CEMA's modernization is proceeding slowly, commodity-money relations have not yet become a characteristic of the [CEMA] market, and a relationship is developing of the "we will supply a hard commodity only in exchange for another hard commodity" type. The Hungarian economy cannot forgo to keep pace with this transformation. Moreover, the domestic economy requires that sales to CEMA countries be profitable, and that industry—in view of the proportions which have evolved—import much more [from CEMA countries].

By now the expansion of direct relations between the enterprises of different countries, the establishment of bilateral cooperations or even of cooperations for working the markets of third countries, and the founding of joint ventures are mutual requirements. Foreseeably the enterprises will have ever greater decision-making authority also on pricing, and this way it may be possible to solve also the problems that have been considered insoluble within the framework of complicated cooperation organizations.

The more any enterprise that fits well into the domestic and foreign markets is able to create a joint production base and a joint product assortment, the greater its prospects of operating profitably and hence of creating the conditions of its own further development.

#### Sources of Financing Restructuring

Where will the money come from? This is the first question that comes immediately to mind upon hearing about some ambitious proposal for industrial development. The question is justified in that centralized resources for development and construction are truly scarce. The state budget, no matter how keen its interest, will hardly be able to finance industrial development now and in the next few years. But there is actually a considerable amount of money tied up [in time deposits and bonds] in our country, and there is even more opportunity to adopt measures whose effects will include also an expansion of the sources of bank credit. Sources of bank credit to finance investment are created even in the worst of times, although admittedly the demand for credit exceeds its supply. But this can be partially offset by investing with more circumspection than up to now. It would be of considerable help if the barrier between the investment limit and maintenance costs were removed, or if at least more "crossovers" were allowed. Also the magnitude of the interest rates on development credits [for capital investment and working capital]

ought to be considered. After all, the primary objective is to stimulate the economy also with such credits, rather than enable the banks to pay their shareholders large dividends.

Individuals and enterprises have much money tied up in time deposits and bonds yielding low interest, respectively in idle fixed and circulating assets. We keep looking at countries with economies far more developed than ours, and should notice that they are much stronger particularly in the art of circulating their money. If we could increase the velocity of circulation in our country by merely 20 to 25 percent, it would still be only half or a third of the velocity of circulation in an efficiently functioning economy, but the sources for the financing of development could be doubled in this manner. With the drafting of the Law on Business Associations and by providing more incentive for investors, the various owners of money must be given wide opportunity to form business associations. Avoidance of the dangers this might cause is less of a problem than the permanent scarcity of capital due to the low velocity of circulation.

Among the possibilities for expanding the sources of financing restructuring we should mention also foreign capital, both socialist and convertible. By offering more favorable conditions and an effectively stronger incentive to invest, equity participation could be increased severalfold, and this would make also the influx of modern equipment and technology into our country easier. This influx must be enhanced also by simplifying the administration of import, and by relaxing and eventually abolishing the separate handling of import costs. Also the structural-development loans obtainable from the World Bank can promote technological progress and economic growth simultaneously, and more effectively than up to now.

#### Measures That Are Worth Money

It is often said that one of the obstacles to our development is the conflict between the advocates and the opponents of reform, while neither side is sharply distinguishable. This can be explained only if we clearly realize that such a conflict does exist, but the "front" usually runs within the consciousness of individuals rather than between them, and thus the conflict appears as uniquely Janus-faced. Consider, for example, the responsible government leader who in principle is an advocate of free import, but hesitates for months over approving a specific application for an import license. Or the chief executive of an enterprise who demands import competition so as to force down the prices of the goods he buys, but immediately shouts for the economic police as soon as the final products of his enterprise are exposed to competition. Or the blue-collar worker who favors performance-commensurate wages in general, but becomes indignant as soon as his own performance is rated low. They all are both advocates and opponents of economic reform, in one person.



Even today the state is able to influence with many different kinds of tools the performances in industry. But each of these tools is employed by a different government agency. One of the main opportunities for improving the government's work lies in consistently coordinating the use of these tools.

We have to mention also the lack of trust between business and government, which compels enterprises to adopt a short-term mentality, to hold back their performance and conceal reserves. Although we have pledged and undertaken time and again to make the future predictable and plannable, we regularly break this promise, even though the situation is not always as difficult as we say to justify the stringency of the regulations. It is arguable that we lose more by placing constraints on the enterprises than what we gain through stringent regulations.

How are the three examples related, and how can the measures concerning them be turned into cash? If the process of economic reform is not hampered either by opposing camps or the limits of our consciousness; if the tools for implementing industrial policy all act in the same direction and reinforce one another; if the state and the enterprises help each other—then the economy's development can be accelerated even without additional inputs. In other words, if some force is able to achieve this effect, it will act as money.

Learning from the pitfalls of our development over four decades, we cannot believe that people, once they recognize the danger of being Janus-faced, will change overnight and start thinking and acting differently tomorrow. Therefore the system of institutions entrusted with the economy's, including industry's, planning and administration, and with the allocation of resources for them, must be transformed in a way that will allow an ever smaller role for the personal factor and will better assert the collective will. This can be achieved by legalizing an ever greater proportion of industrial and commercial activities, and by granting statutory protection for the fruits of successful economic activity.

Proceeding along this road, we can liberate enormous energies and harness them to serve creativity, willingness to help and cooperate, and thereby our common objective—economic consolidation.

1014

## POLAND

### Recent Soviet Trade Terms Discussed, Imbalances Noted

26000492 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 11,  
1 Jun 88 pp 21, 23

[Interview with Minister Plenipotentiary Georgiy Shchukin, USSR Trade Advisor to Poland]

[Text] [Question] After PRL Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner's last visit to Moscow and his talks with Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzkov, concrete measures are anticipated that would bring about an increase to our trade

turnover. To quote Prime Minister Ryzkov: "We must now roll up our sleeves and considerably activate joint efforts for the further development of new forms of cooperation and seek solutions that would be acceptable to both sides." Thus, what would this rolling up of sleeves mean in practice?

[Answer] The Soviet Union places a great deal of importance on the development and intensification of economic cooperation and trade with Poland. The official, friendly visit of the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, to Poland will become an important incentive for more active cooperation between our countries within the political and economic sphere of cooperation just as it has been specified in the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress.

Agreements reached during talks conducted in the beginning of April in Moscow by the prime ministers of the Soviet Union and Poland, were a significant event in the development of this cooperation. After a thorough review of the current and prospective problems of the development of cooperation between both our countries, many issues of positive significance for Poland were discussed and agreed upon. This concerns the Polish debt owed to the USSR and maintaining during the next 5-year period, the supply from the Soviet Union of raw and fabricating materials, and fuel on an unchanged level; the participation of the Soviet Union in completing the construction of important Polish industrial structures as well as the reconstruction and modernization of the processing industry's plants with the introduction of new methods and technology. During the talks, issues relating to the completion of work on the concept of bilateral economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the upcoming 15 to 20 years were also agreed upon. This also concerns work awaiting us on the coordination of national economic plans of both countries during 1991-1995.

In practice, this necessity of "rolling up our sleeves" in cooperation means the beginning of real cooperation and specialization for both the Soviet and the Polish side so as to create an integrated economy of both countries. This may be achieved by, for example, the development of new forms of cooperation such as joint undertakings, direct ties between work establishments, trade between border lying regions, the real implementation of the general agreement on cooperation in building construction, reconstruction and the expansion of the production capacity of Polish factories and plants with the participation of Soviet credit. However, the development of all these forms of cooperation requires consideration and a decision as soon as possible with regard to foreign exchange-financial as well as price issues.

[Question] It is projected that this year's turnover between Poland and the USSR will come to 13 billion rubles. Is this a lot or not much and what steps should be taken to increase it?

[Answer] Our long-term trade agreement, which encompasses the years 1986-1990 has projected that our joint commodity turnover will reach 74 billion rubles. However, it should be noted with regret that even mutual supplies of goods valued at 13 billion rubles annually during the remaining years of the 5-year plan is not enough to meet the tasks which we have set before ourselves. The inability to fulfill the assumptions envisaged by this agreement arises, above all, from the all too small flow of Polish goods to the USSR and the drop in world prices on crude oil. However, the unbalanced state of the mutual settling of accounts of commodity turnover between our countries that maintains itself until today should be taken into account. It is expected that by the end of the 5-year plan, it will be possible to offset in full the amount of the mutual supplies of goods and the payments associated with this. That is why, a task which should by no means be put off in Soviet-Polish trade relations is the constant search for new articles to expand the palette of supplies.

Increasing the mutual supplies of machinery and equipment becomes exceptionally current today. Thus, just as Soviet equipment for the power industry, electric locomotives, trucks and passenger vehicles, and tractors and airplanes are indispensable to the Polish economy, so we have a great need for ships, road construction machinery, freight cars, and equipment for mining natural resources—all built in Poland.

[Question] It is planned that in 1988—for the first time during the current decade—Poland will deliver to the USSR more goods than it will receive from the Soviet Union. This will lead to the gradual reduction in the debt. What effect will this have on our cooperation?

[Answer] We have already said that a significant imbalance maintains itself in the mutual clearing of accounts between Poland and the Soviet Union. After summing up the results of trade between our countries, commodity trade turnover is planned to be evened out this year. This will not be a simple task when taking into account that up to this time, contracts valued at approximately 350 million rubles for the export of Polish goods to the Soviet Union have not been transacted. The situation involving the negotiation of contracts for Polish-made items of everyday use, certain machinery, clothing goods, knitwear, and vegetables is particularly alarming in this respect.

Therefore, it may be expected that a not very large positive balance for Poland could occur no earlier than during the last year of this 5-year plan. It will occur, above all, as a result of the lowering of world crude oil prices. However, as a result of Poland's needs and the necessity of further increasing supplies of Soviet goods—by and large—the mutual trade turnover will be balanced during the entire 5-year period.

As a sidenote—there is no Polish family that would not have some sort of Soviet equipment or appliance in the home. It is estimated that currently there are 1 million 200 thousand Soviet color television sets in Poland, 500,000 automatic washing machines, 3.5 million refrigerators not to mention cameras and watches. Gas stoves in Polish homes are supplied with Soviet gas whereas passenger vehicles are powered with gasoline derived from Soviet crude oil.

[Question] How is the direct cooperation between plants developing; what should be done to further its growth? Thus far, the legal and financial principles of implementing direct cooperation between enterprises, scientific-research institutes have not been worked out and in many cases, the principle of mutual economic benefits was not adhered to.

[Answer] Direct production ties between Soviet and Polish plants are already bringing the first positive results. For example, with the active participation of our agency, the Computer Manufacturing Plant in Orlo and the Warsaw "Mera-Blonie" Factory have already begun the coproduction of modern D100-E printers last year. Both partners have increased by nearly one-third the supply of this sought-after production. The economic effects of this direct cooperation during the 1987-1990 period alone may be estimated at approximately 36 million rubles. Also the Associated Enterprises in Grodno, which produce technological equipment, and the "Ponar-Bial" Factory in Bialystok have placed in operation the, beneficial for both sides, coproduction of lathe chucks for machine tools valued at many million rubles during the year.

Such direct ties can shorten the time needed for working out and implementing new technology. The close cooperation between the Electronic Computer Institute in Moscow and the Warsaw Institute of Computers has made it possible to lessen at least twofold the time needed for working out 20 technical elements for the computer "family," thus bringing in 3.8 million rubles for the partners.

However, there are still many obstacles, organizational, legal and economic in nature that hinder the effectiveness of this the most large-scale new form of cooperation. The basic problems are, in particular: discordance of foreign exchange and differences in production cost estimates of goods manufactured in our countries and, moreover, the detachment of this production's contract prices from world prices and the complicated conversion of foreign trade prices into producer prices. All of this has caused difficulties in the establishing of coproduction ties between Soviet and Polish enterprises.

Recently, significant steps have been taken to improve the instruments of mutual economic cooperation. The expansion in both countries of the possibility of clearing accounts in transferable rubles will be conducive to the development of its new forms. In the Soviet Union, the

possibilities are being considered of organizing wholesale trade with the means of production in transferable rubles. In Poland, a system of allowances in transferable rubles will be used for enterprises exporting to CEMA countries.

Furthermore, during the final phase talks are scheduled pertaining to the use of national currencies in clearing accounts between Soviet and Polish enterprises and organizations. This will also be helpful in the development of direct relations between them.

A Soviet-Polish complex program of scientific-technological progress adopted in September 1985, is geared toward the more complete use of both our countries' production and scientific-technological potential. It envisages the implementation of joint ventures in such priority directions as equipping the national economy with electronics, the complex automation of production, the development of new materials and technology, the development of biotechnology and the production of modern means of production in the machine-building industry. It was decided that up to the year 1990, our countries' organizations will produce, within the framework of these directions and in close cooperation, more than 110 new types of machinery and will develop approximately 80 modern technological processes as well as more than 20 new types of material. The considerable scientific-technological progress includes such areas and products as cranes, technical fittings for milling machine tools, equipment for the chemical industry, mining machinery, color state-of-the-art television sets, etc.

And here is another fact associated with progress. In accordance with an agreement of many years standing, in 1985 the Soviet Union supplied Poland with 12.75 million tons of crude oil. The expectations of automobile drivers and tractor users in Poland cannot be completely fulfilled. However, it should be kept in mind that in almost all economically developed countries of the world, the share of crude oil in the structure of the use of energy sources not only is not increasing but on the contrary—is falling. The conservation of energy carrying sources and particularly crude oil, is a dominant trend in the world. The problem is also based on the fact that in CEMA member countries transport means continue to be produced and used in the national economy that waste fuel energy. Such is the case, for example, with Nysa, Zuk, and Polonez automobiles in Poland. That is why an urgent task for our countries is the fundamental change of the not-fully rational current practice of the use by our national economies of energy sources. Cooperation in developing and implementing energy and material conserving techniques and technology may be a solution to this.

[Question] We often hear talk—in simplified terms—about the economic account. There are many myths on this subject. During the last meeting, both prime ministers stressed that the only basis for the economic account may be realistic parameters that reflect the true economic

relations. Can we, therefore, take a somewhat closer look—of course, in a simplified manner—at these relations?

[Answer] In the Soviet Union, work is continuing on creating a new economic mechanism that would meet the needs of intensification. From 1 January of this year, a Law on State Enterprises (Associations) began functioning and the majority of industrial plants began operating on the basis of self-financing and a full economic account. This system is also being introduced to foreign trade centers in our country. For this reason, enterprises will now import only goods whose purchase will be of benefit to them. Production with a high price tag will not be profitable for these enterprises. In connection with this, the necessity of bringing internal wholesale prices on Soviet and Polish goods closer to world prices has matured as has implementing in our mutual turnover the clearing of accounts in the national currencies on the basis of their mutual exchangeability.

The as close as possible linking of benefits in the economic sphere with the accounts clearing benefits of the basic economic elements of our countries is currently becoming the most crucial need in the economic mechanism of our joint cooperation.

The trade and economic relations between the USSR and Poland should mutually supplement the economies of our countries. It is very important that goods sent from Poland to the Soviet Union and ours sent to Poland be of high quality and that truly integrated relations be developed between our countries' enterprises.

The visit of PPR [Polish Peoples' Republic] Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner to Moscow, his talks with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and talks with USSR Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzkov will have a very important significance for the elimination of barrier hindering cooperation for the further development of political and economic relations between both our countries.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

09853/7310

**Available Energy Sources, Restructuring Costs, Demands Discussed**

26000543c Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
22 Jun 88 p 3

[Interview with Prof Roman Ney, director of the Institute of Energy Carriers of the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy, by Bozena Kastory: "A Structural Flaw"]

[Text] [Question] An average resident of Poland uses little electricity for his own needs. From among European states, less is used per capita only in Albania and Portugal. At the same time, we use about twice as much energy as developed European countries per unit of national income.



We can see from the above comparison that a citizen full of good will won't be much help if he turns off an unnecessary light bulb. He is not the main energy guzzler. The flaw is at the macro- rather than micro-scale of the economy.

[Answer] To my mind, this is the issue of the economic model, which has always been our Achilles's heel. Firstly, almost all our products are more energy-intensive than the same products manufactured elsewhere. For example, our iron and steel industry needs between 1.5 and 2.2 times more energy than in the countries of Western Europe per ton of steel. Secondly, too few of our products are in the so-called class of low energy consumption rates, e.g. radio, TV and data processing equipment.

[Question] Simplifying it a bit, do we have too much steel and too little electronics?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the structure of our economy conjures up early capitalism rather than the end of the 20th century with its scientific-technical revolution. Moreover, we are one of the states which, to be sure, possess great assets in heavy industry, but they consume themselves. The iron and steel industry is operating, to a large degree, in order to ensure coal production, and a considerable share of this coal ends up in blast furnaces so as to produce the steel for the needs of mining, whereas it is what leaves this system that is important for the economy.

[Question] At present, is more [output] leaving this circuit than several years ago, when you gave my newspaper an interview about this very economic model entitled "Sinking Teeth into Our Own Tail?"

[Answer] Unfortunately, the situation has not changed. We are still behind in carrying out the restructuring of our economy. We have lost a lot of time as far as practical actions are concerned. Meanwhile, many states have proven that it is possible to support themselves by electronics or manufacturing. The world has come through a certain stage, which we have not. Meanwhile, the countries which embarked rapidly on changing the proportions between heavy industry, agriculture and the rest of the economy have made it to the group of most developed countries with relative ease.

[Question] Can we tell ourselves outright that we are going to extinguish blast furnaces, because they devour too much energy?

[Answer] We must start with changes within the framework of the existing iron and steel industry, because we cannot do without the products of the metallurgical industry. However, we should ensure that these are high-quality products. Then, less steel, but good steel, would suffice. It is highly likely that the present steel

output would adequately meet the needs of our country if it were produced in high-quality grades. Unfortunately, we place little emphasis on this kind of modernization.

[Question] In your opinion, who is responsible for working out a program of fundamental changes in the structure of the economy? After all, I hear all the time in the Sejm, the Committee for Science and Technical Progress, the Planning Commission, that there is no such program.

[Answer] In my opinion, we have an inefficient way of managing the country, that is to say, there is a lot of discussion and few results. I feel that no clear-cut attitude towards restructuring the economy has emerged; secondly, since market mechanisms are not functioning, the enterprises are in no rush to introduce changes, because they will sell what they produce anyhow.

I myself bought three spades, one after another, for my garden lot, because each one of them got warped after several days of use. Maybe the recently established Restructuring Fund will play a positive role in the matter. The Ministry of Industry is working on new practical ways of introducing changes.

[Question] Since we cannot count on rapid modernization of the economy, which could reduce the expected energy shortage, let us look at the resources at our disposal. Will coal be our main energy carrier in the future as well?

[Answer] Realistically, I see no opportunity for reducing the contribution of coal to our energy economy. Crude oil could be a substitute. However, the danger for us is that Poland will pass by the oil age without having access to it.

[Question] Do you mean our own oilfields?

[Answer] No, our proven oil reserves are minimal. Also, projections for oil deposits are limited; at any rate, the conditions are very difficult, and, in addition, the oil industry is short of equipment. For my part, I was thinking about oil being exceptionally cheap in the world at this moment. This situation won't last long. After the year 2000, Middle Eastern oilfields will begin to be depleted; in the Soviet Union, production will move to remote Siberia, and in the United States and other countries of the world to polar areas. Then oil prices will definitely go up. Even assuming that our balance of payments will improve, oil may once again be too expensive for us.

[Question] In turn, as far as coal is concerned, it is commonly believed that the upper limit of production has been reached. Three years ago, you said that "we

have reached the wall," the limit, that we cannot go on like that. The thickest, easily accessible seams are mined, whereas the thin ones, which contain 60 percent of our coal, are abandoned.

[Answer] At present, there is an opportunity to increase the degree of utilization of coal deposits from 43 to 50 percent. Due to this, an extra 900 million tons of coal would be available in the existing mines. The management of the Coal Trust is tackling a number of difficult issues, e.g. mining thin seams and edge coal, the problem of managing brines pumped out of mines. However, these issues merit a separate discussion.

[Question] What is your view of the opportunity for us to tap the energy of the atom?

[Answer] Thus far, the programs of the nuclear power industry have not been realized. The current program, adopted after 1980, is being carried out with a lot of slippage. I believe that the degree of this slippage also is an additional influence on the awareness of the populace. The people are still more apprehensive about this energy.

[Question] Do you share the apprehensions associated with the construction of nuclear power stations in Poland?

[Answer] It is difficult to argue against the people who are afraid of slipshod work, which is ubiquitous in Poland. What guarantee does a citizen have that this particular power station will be built well and operated correctly? I do not believe that we could do without the nuclear power industry, though.

[Question] Before the end of this century, we are supposed to build Zarnowiec and 2 or 4 units of the next power station. What share of our demand for electricity will these power stations meet?

[Answer] At best, 5,860 MW out of 42,000 MW, that is, about 13 percent of electricity, but only 5.3 percent of primary energy consumption.

[Question] This is not a lot. Besides nuclear power, do you see other sources of energy for Poland? There are many enthusiasts who see them in wind, solar energy etc.

[Answer] I share this enthusiasm, but only to a degree. I got personally involved in using thermal waters in Podhale. Even the most well-endowed states, which experience no energy problems, appreciate renewable energy sources, such as biogas, ground heat, etc. If somebody builds a single-family home in the FRG or Sweden today, he immediately receives offers to, say, install a device to utilize low-temperature ground heat. In the United States, they use the energy of the sun and wind, and produce biogas from waste.

However, the share of all these renewable energy sources in the overall balance does not reach 8 percent [even] in the countries which make a special effort. This is not a lot, but it can be significant for agriculture and dispersed housing. I also see an opportunity to use biogas, thermal energy and the energy of small rivers in Poland.

[Question] Is this being done?

[Answer] To a very small degree. Firstly, the prices of energy carriers were too low in our country. Secondly, in the era of macro-industrialization, we discontinued production of small turbines, and those who produce energy for their own consumption are [now] taxed. Small-scale power generation cannot develop if the state does not favor it.

[Question] This is also a mistake on the macro scale: when we are threatened with an energy shortage, every energy producer should be protected.

[Answer] If the State Council for the Energy Economy, which thus far does not exist, is set up in the new term [of the Sejm], we intend to organize the National Association of Small-scale Energy Producers, so that people will have the support, because they do not have the clout on their own. While appreciating the significance of renewable energy, I still believe that substituting anything else for coal is not possible. All of this can only be supplementary. In your widely read newspaper, opinions were expressed in the series "Zero Option" that coal can be substituted by gas, or that we may switch to other sources of energy. It is simply unrealistic on a greater scale.

[Question] Is the program for energy savings, which was also mentioned in our cycle, realistic? If not through changes in the economic macro-structures, since this is running into such obstacles, then maybe [it could be done] through less refined streamlining of consumption? The 1983-1985 plan projected saving about 6 million tons of standard fuel. One-twelfth of this amount, 0.5 million tons, was obtained. In 1985, the next program was developed, providing for saving 22 million tons of standard fuel before 1990. Can this be done?

[Answer] This plan was unrealistic from the very beginning. It had no technical resources. This was the opinion of the State Council for the Energy Economy, but nobody wanted to listen to that. Now it turns out that the situation is worse yet than we in the council expected. If we have about 5 million tons of standard fuel towards the end of the five-year period, instead of the planned 22 million, it will be a lot.

[Question] Despite industry not operating at full capacity?

[Answer] If industry operated now as it did in 1978 and 1979, we would already have a permanent energy shortage.

[Question] What is the response to this on the part of the decision-making echelons?

[Answer] During the first reorganization, the Chief Inspectorate of the Energy Economy was eliminated. This is to say, on the one hand, the program has no technical resources, and, on the other, the supervision of its fulfillment is given up. Meanwhile, both the former and the latter must be ensured. There ought to be a system where, say, radios which use more electricity than is accepted elsewhere, are not licensed for operation, where thermostats on heat radiators are mandatory and where economic arrangements favor the production of such energy-efficient devices.

If we fail to do this, we will lack energy as early as the beginning of the 1990s, and after the year 1995, this will be a very strong influence on the condition of our economy.

9761

**KZRKiOR Main Council on Purchase Prices,  
Difficult Agricultural Situation**  
26000523c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
23 Jun p 6

[Article: "The Economic Situation of Agriculture—  
Meeting of the KZRKiOR Main Council"]

[Text] (PAP) The Main Council of the National Association of Farmers, Rural Circles, and Agricultural Organizations, or KZRKiOR, made an assessment on 22 June of the economic situation of agriculture and discussed ways to aid farmers in areas suffering from the spring drought. Representatives of the National Administration of the ZMW, the Union of PGRs, and the Central Council of the Union of Agricultural Producer Cooperatives attended the session.

The KZRKiOR main council reviewed the Ministry of Finance's proposals concerning increases in official wholesale prices effective this 1 July. In presenting them, Wincenty Lewandowski, secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, said that the economic solutions being prepared for agriculture show that the government is making good on the promises it had made earlier.

There had been plans to assess the rural income situation after the first half of the year, but the assessment was made in the middle of May. There are plans to increase official wholesale prices by 14.5 percent and to allocate 195 billion zlotys for that purpose. This amount will make it possible to compensate agriculture, independent of the farmers' increased costs of living and production and to make improvement to the extent projected for this year, to achieve parity between the income of the rural and nonrural population, while gaining a 1.6 percent increase in agricultural production.

The actual structure of farmers' income depends on the size of this year's harvest, and any forecast on this subject would be an estimate. The Ministry of Finance is prepared to assess during the final quarter of this year the actual economic situation in agriculture based on hard data, the authorities intend to insure profitability, which is an essential condition to the development of agricultural production.

Mr Lewandowski gave assurances that the adjustment of wholesale prices would not create a hike in retail food prices.

During the discussion it was pointed out that there had been a rise in production costs since 15 May of this year, which had not been taken into account in the Ministry of Finance's earlier analyses. The farms must bear the added expenditures caused by the adverse weather conditions, which are hurting crops.

In reference to the problems that had been raised, Stanislaw Zieba, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Economy, said that talks were in progress with the PZU central office to use prevention funds to provide additional funding to underwrite a reduction in the prices of seed for aftercrops, whose post-harvest cultivation will add to the supply of fodder for farms. An exemption from duty on imported pesticides has been negotiated. Financing is being sought to increase subsidies to reduce fall retail prices on certified seed for grain. Additional quantities of concentrated feed have been sent to the regions affected by the drought. The assistance granted also includes deliveries of mineral fertilizers and lime.

Minister Zieba announced his readiness to meet with the Presidium of the Main Council and with the administration of the BGZ, in order to eliminate the causes of arbitrariness which occur in certain parishes in granting credit to farmers. Minister Zieba listed some of the major reasons for the fact that the relationship between the income of the rural population and that of the nonrural population is getting worse: last year's decline in farm production and the rise in farming costs last year resulting from the harsh winter and orchard losses, and this year from the drought and the increase in prices of industrially produced items needed by farmers.

The KZRKiOR's main council passed resolution stating its position that the proposed 15-percent rise in wholesale prices of basic farm crops would not provide in 1988 for improvement in the relationship between the incomes of the rural and nonrural population to a ratio of 92 to 100, as the PZPR Central Committee's Politburo and the presidium of the ZSL's National Committee had intended, because prices on the means of production for agriculture (including plant protection agents, spare parts, and machinery) and the costs of living of farm families, as well as income in the socialized economy, had increased to a greater extent than had been projected in the calculations made in May. Because



the suggestions of the farmers' association were not followed, the main council is ending the talks that have been in progress and will await new proposals from the government.

The position paper states that the downward trend since 1983 in the profitability of agriculture created a considerable break-down in the farm production figures in 1987, and the adverse weather conditions this year have made this extremely difficult situation still worse, as a result of inconsistency in carrying out the resolutions of the 1983 joint plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL National Committee.

The disparity is becoming worse, owing to the reduced scale planned for increases in official wholesale prices, along with a simultaneous rise in the nonrural population's income far in excess of what had been planned. This trend will seriously endanger the further development of agricultural production. Outlays for production expenditures will dwindle, and farmers' interest in buying land and the means of production will decline. Because of the very important reasons implied by the program to make the country self-sufficient for food, the main council maintains its 31 May position that wholesale prices be raised as of 1 July of this year on a scale to insure parity between the incomes of the rural and nonrural population. The main council is calling for an assessment of private farmers' income situation after the third quarter and for adjusting the prices of farm crops to a level equal to that of this 1 July, in the event that the projected income index is not achieved.

10790

#### **Soviets Visit Wroclaw 'Elwro' Plant**

26000543a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
15 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] A government delegation from the USSR, headed by Deputy Prime Minister Igor' Belousov and sojourning in Poland on the occasion of the International Fair in Poznan, visited the "Elwro" Electronic Enterprise on 14 June. The enterprise has been cooperating for a dozen years with the electronic and data processing industry of the Soviet Union. The guests visited computer production facilities, familiarizing themselves with the most up-to-date microcomputers, as well as the new teleprocessing systems. Director-in-chief of the "Elwro" enterprise Andrzej Musielak mentioned, among other things, the effects of developing the production of computers in the unified system of the CEMA countries. This year, the work force will deliver yet another series of R-34 type computers.

I. Belousov also familiarized himself with plans for developing production for export at "Elwro," among other things, preparations for carrying out the so-called express export contract with the USSR, signed at the

Poznan fair now in progress, for the delivery in 1989 of modern teleprocessing systems worth about 40 million rubles—the largest in the history of the "Elwro."

9761

#### **Yugoslav Economic Chamber Delegation Visits**

26000543b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
15 Jun 88 p 2

[Text] On 14 June, Chairman of the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers, Deputy Prime Minister Zdzislaw Sadowski received Milan Pavic, chairman of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, with a group of economic functionaries of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The status and prospects for developing Polish-Yugoslav economic relations, and factors which should promote the development of links in production and exchange of goods between the two countries were discussed.

The delegation of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, led by its chairman Milan Pavic, completed its visit in Poland. In talks with PIHZ [Polish Chamber of Foreign Trade] Chairman Tadeusz Zylkowski, it was stressed that the development of Polish-Yugoslav economic cooperation can facilitate a more rapid solution to problems occurring in both countries. The stagnation in mutual trade registered in the last 2 years should be counteracted by invigorating direct cooperation by enterprises, enhancing the existing links in specialization and subcontracting, joint enterprises and the exchange of information.

9761

#### **Academician Skeptical as to Probability of Turning Point for Economy**

26000551a Warsaw ODRODZENIE in  
Polish No 26, 25 Jun 88 pp 1,6

[Article by Wacław Wilczyński, researcher at the Economics Academy in Poznań. The title and subtitle were provided by the editors: "The Unfinished Scenario" subtitled "Which is To Be the Model of the Socialist State—State-Self-Government or State-Trade Union?"]

[Text] In the previous issue of ODRODZENIE I had reflected on the perilous state of the Polish economy and pointed to the trends and processes which have led to such a situation. The salvation can lie only in a radicalization of the reform under way.

The concept of radicality is occasionally associated with undesirable or even dangerous adventurism. I must state that in the case of the systemic reform radicalization means solely: 1) the development and application of a system that is at the same time transparent, consistent, and lucid to participants in economic life and that offers

the greatest chances for translating the criteria of effectiveness into reality; and 2) total subordination of the policy for applying that system to the postulate of its maximally rapid and effective implementation.

#### **Radicalization of the Reform Does Not Imply Departing From the Programmed System**

Instead, it means purging that system of foreign bodies and opening the road for it. When thus conceived, radicalization is not adventurism but, on the contrary, a condition for overcoming the systemic chaos and actions that cancel each other out and neutralize healthy systemic solutions. It is a condition for reducing the losses justly ascribed to inconsistent, half-way, compromise, and opaque economic systems. When thus conceived, the radicalization of the reform should be regarded as a fundamental prerequisite for a qualitative turning point in the economy, a turning point that has not been achieved by systemic policy in the last few years. That turning point is at the present moment absolutely indispensable.

The lessons of the years past indicate that a crucial condition for purging the reform of foreign incrustations and relics of the previous system is overcoming the instrumental interpretation of the reform based on the ideology of the central management of all economic processes. The purpose of the reform is to alter economic relations, to alter the climate of economic activity, and not to modify the instruments for the centralized manipulation of enterprises. A systemic, system-of-society interpretation of the reform is a prerequisite for overcoming the relics of the command-allocation system, whose inability to cope with the challenges of our time is obvious and demonstrated by the experience of the recent decades.

A basic prerequisite for constructing the new economic relations toward which our reform is oriented is the need for accomplishing a turning point in two crucial domains: 1) the state's function in the economy; and 2) the approach to commodity-money categories and relations.

In the former case, the postulate reduces, as known, to a consistent self-transformation of the state from an incompetent and costly manager of the national economy viewed as one huge multiplant enterprise to an overseer who instead of managing utilizes economic and legal instruments for influencing participants in the economic life who take independent decisions.

In the latter case the issue consists in the final abandonment of the erroneous interpretation of such concepts as prices, profits, and value, an interpretation which insults the logic of rational management, and in drawing practical conclusions therefrom. The putdowns of the market mechanism as a supposedly foreign body in socialism should be stopped and that mechanism should begin to be treated pragmatically as a convenient and effective

mechanism for the verification of production and all economic activity. The return to a normal treatment of commodity-money categories requires activating a market-balancing mechanism as a prerequisite for the evolution of realistic prices. It is necessary to conclusively break with the traditional practice of a nearly automatic acceptance of any costs and rejection or suspicious treatment of profits as a surplus effect of outlays. An economy that does not produce surpluses shall never be able to repay its indebtedness. In an economy in which profits are viewed suspiciously, cost inflation is inevitable, for no one is then interested in cost-cutting.

In these circumstances arises the question of whether and to what extent has the implementation program for the second stage of the economic reform [hereafter referred to as "the Program"] created a proper departure point for radicalizing the reform and consequently forming an internally coherent and effective economic system. Does the Program reflect properly and make possible deep qualitative changes in the operating system of the economy, changes pointing to a turning point in its effectiveness?

#### **We Will Not Be Capable of an Ideology of Economic Expansion**

The principal merit of the Program is the striving toward an integral restructuring of the economic system and of all its components, as compared with the partial, occasional, and opaque ideology of the measures typical of the first stage of the reform. The Program provides the premises for a systemic, system-of-society treatment of the reform and allows actions in the direction of changing the economic relations.

The first part of the Program, which stresses measures to stimulate demand and proclaims freedom of action, the creation of an expansive climate, and equal status for all [state, cooperative, private] sectors, presages support for entrepreneurialism. The third part of the Program, dealing with the restructuring of the system for the management of the economy, implies a far-reaching change in the approach to the state's function in the economy and to the role of various forms of self-government. The direction of such changes is to be viewed positively as consonant with postulates advanced long ago. Similarly, the objectives within the second part of the Program, which concern prices and incomes, seemingly elicit no doubts as regards their formulation. However, the measures taken to implement the objectives of that second part of the Program diverge considerably from the expectations, from elementary principles of political tactics, and even from the implications of the state of knowledge.

While dispensing for the time being with a detailed assessment of the actual implementation Program, as revised in December 1987 and January 1988, it has to be stated even now that this Program has from the outset been in a collision with both the relics of the old system



and a deliberate resistance by forces interested in opposing the economic reform. As a result, quite frequently the Program objectives are misinterpreted, and the open door policy, e.g., the possibility of establishing joint-stock companies, is utilized for purposes conflicting with the reform. Hence, the climate for expansion is of a half-way nature. On the one hand, new enterprises of a sometimes explicitly speculative nature arise, and on the other the traditional, rigid regulations and instructions that stifle entrepreneurialism still persist. Attempts to develop horizontal linkages and streamline the economy are meeting with resistance from the persisting vertical, hierarchic structures which derive additional clout from their regular "middleman" functions, from the persistence of various forms of centralized regulation, etc. The prediction that new enterprises will be required merely to register instead of to apply for a permit to operate still has not come true. In foreign trade the liberalization of franchise policies is being accompanied by greater red tape in issuing export permits.

A factor distorting the process of reforming economic mechanisms is so-called social considerations or their use as a pretext. These considerations are cited as a reason for the policy of price controls, which in practice maintain at-cost prices and thus discourage cost-cutting. Such measures promote neither restoring the market equilibrium nor the attainment of profits and an increase in fiscal revenues. For while proclaiming the abandonment of its function of manager of the economy, the state does not act consistently. It has not changed its traditional position as reflected in the way in which it carried out price changes [price increases] and in its operating techniques, and especially in the scope of the across-the-board compensation payments for price increases despite the formal requirement that the enterprises obtain funds for these payments. The slow pace at which the state is transforming itself from the manager of the economy to its overseer is also reflected in the problems encountered by the growth of local and enterprise self-governments.

#### **Does the Program Depend on the Timetable?**

What then should the reform be like in the late 1980s? What is to be expected of it? To what extent does it depend on us ourselves? Under what conditions will it result in genuine qualitative changes? Will it assure releasing creative energies?

A reformed reform should be characterized by purging it of foreign intrusions and internal contradictions and substantially accelerating its application. The hopes for the reform's success hinge, however, on mobilizing support for the new system. It is up to us ourselves and to our unremitting pressure on the national legislative and executive agencies to imbue with a new content and spirit the objectives and projects specified in the implementation Program. We must become fully aware of the fact that the continued sluggish pace of the reform, the dilatory activation of its mechanisms, and, above all, actions inconsonant with its spirit, are causing huge losses. The continuation of the economic proportions

existing so far and the failure to halt the growth in foreign indebtedness alone mean an additional cost of US\$100-150 million monthly to the national economy. Every month that a consistent application of the mechanism of economic duress is postponed means simply a month wasted. In these conditions, radicalization of the reform not only is not a symptom of unrealistic thinking but on the contrary, in practice, it offers the sole alternative, the sole opportunity for halting the processes of economic degradation with their pregnant consequences.

The modified Program provides for a large number of unusually important measures whose implementation simply must be watched over. As early as in March 1988 a draft decree on the principles for undertaking economic activity [engaging in private enterprise] (registration instead of permits) was to be submitted, but unfortunately this has been postponed. Regulations governing bookkeeping, finance, taxes, reports, documentation, etc., were to be revised in April. Steps should be taken to assure that the functions and powers of parent agencies [of enterprises] be indeed changed. A system for grading enterprises on the basis of principally the criterion of profitability is to be worked out and applied. The creation of a uniform commercial market requires precise social supervision and grassroots pressure, if only in view of the convoluted procedure for that process as specified in the implementation Program. The institution of leasing free productive capacities by enterprises will have to be protected against distortions. The program for technological progress, improvements in quality, and streamlining of investment processes, as contained in the implementation Program, points to the particularly great delays and arrears on the investment sector, a sector that is particularly sensitive from the standpoint of the future. The related assumptions have to be viewed as totally unsatisfactory, minimalist, and failing to consider substantive and systemic matters in an integral manner. It also is difficult to consider as satisfactory the Program's assumptions providing for a merely successive, gradual break up of the monopoly on the procurements of and trade in agricultural commodities and foods and its relatively vague and excessively protracted timetable for restructuring the system of subsidies for the food industry. Likewise, the language used in the Program implies the postponement of other objectives. On the other hand, the predictions that the system for the settlement of accounts for construction operations will be revised is to be viewed as a plus. It can be hoped that we shall finally reach a stage when payments for construction projects are made only after they are completed rather than for successive stages of completion.

#### **Price-Income Question Marks**

As I noted previously, the second group of Program objectives, relating to prices and incomes, is the most questionable. It can be only hoped here that the general assumptions will lead to measures to promote the recovery of the currency and credit system, eliminate "soft" financing, and restore the powers of the National Bank of Poland to control the printing of currency. However,



the related assumptions and measures taken so far do not inspire hope. They are of the half-way kind and characterized by fears of unambiguous solutions and, what is still worse, negation of the possibility of applying solutions other than those planned. Similarly, the prediction that a realistic interest rate will be introduced has so far been conflicting with the facts. As known, banks make their living from the difference between the higher interest rate charged on loans and the lower interest rate paid to savings depositors. Yet, the interest rate charged on loans to socialized enterprises has not been raised, while the increases in the interest rate paid to savings depositors are, on the one hand, too low to offset the inflation and, on the other, too high compared with the interest rate charged on loans.

The implementation Program also reflects the resistance to the application of the principle of linking wages to the economic performance of enterprises. The amending of the decree on plant wage systems should introduce clarity in this matter instead of being merely confined to relatively insignificant "progress" on this sector. Similarly, the Program practices a cautious approach to the issue of abandoning the payments of in-kind allowances. The third part of the Program, namely, the restructuring of the system for the management of the economy, similarly contains objectives couched in a vague language. Why is it, for example, that curtailment of government orders is envisaged in advance? In a normally functioning, balanced economy, government orders are not an evil and promote restructuring. The fact that in Poland government orders are not what they should be is due to the lopsided and distorted interpretation of these orders as a form of plan targets. There is much that should be positive in the part of the Program dealing with the growth and strengthening of local self-governments. Presumably this aspect of the Program should be fleshed out largely locally, by local communities at various levels. The ultimate nature of the pertinent relations will largely hinge on the resistance of regional elements. But as for the provisions of Chapter 13 of the Program, concerning enterprise self-government, they point to persisting vagueness in interpreting the role of worker self-government. Yet, it should be clear that in the long run the sole alternative to the socialist state is the state—self-government model rather than the state—trade union model with which we are unfortunately dealing at present.

#### **An End Must Be Put to Evasions and Empty Rhetoric**

It is time to sum up. Even now the implementation of the second stage of the reform is being burdened by the mistakes made regarding the second part of the Program, that is, in the policy on prices and incomes, and partially also as regards structural autonomies. It looks like the Program will have to be implemented in an atmosphere of profound skepticism among both experts and the society. In such a difficult situation an opportunity will be afforded not by more evasions and empty rhetoric but by posing matters clearly and striving to construct a

logical and consistent system of economic relations and develop hard but effective and promising mechanisms.

This also means that it must be openly stated that we all will have to pay for halting the growth of foreign indebtedness and decapitalization and restoring the economic equilibrium, but at the same time this price is worth it and it is better to pay it now than in the future, and therefore an economic system promoting expansion should be put into operation now and not in the future. We should not delude ourselves into believing that the attained level of real incomes and consumption can be maintained without any shocks and without paying the price in the future. The sole chance for reintegrating the society by deeds rather than words lies in the struggle for economic success. This requires a definite abandonment of the paternalist treatment of the society by the authorities. People are adults, both in the domain of production and as citizens and consumers. They cannot be manipulated with impunity and incompetently. Any maintenance of "interim solutions" and rationing, and postponement of the activation of new economic mechanisms, will merely lead to further disintegration of the economy, such as began to loom clearly toward the end of 1987 and whose end is not to be seen at present. A qualitative turnabout in reforming the economy requires removing opponents of the systemic reform from executive posts in national agencies such as the Planning Commission, the Office of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Finance. The personnel employed in editing drafts of decrees, ordinances, directives, circulars, and instructions should be replaced. In addition, it is necessary to assure unequivocal sovereignty of the National Bank of Poland over the printing of currency and the money and credit policies.

The essence of the second stage of the reform lies in far-reaching liberalization of economic life, in freeing it of restrictive regulations and prejudices. This requires tremendous effort from the political infrastructure so that it may adapt itself to the new times. The policy of authentic liberalization of political and economic life must be accompanied by "firming" economic management, by not tolerating manifestations of disorder, waste, and all kinds of negligence.

The success of the reform also hinges on resolutely opposing the minimalist pseudoideology of "Things are good as they are." This seemingly attractive concept harbors negation of the reform and its mechanisms and the peril of isolation from the surrounding world by analogy with Albania, etc.

Realizing the need for the reform as really the sole way of assuring for Poland a proper position among the nations of the world is the starting condition for the reform. The present moment is difficult both to the reform and to us all. The chance for success lies not in half-measures but in radical solutions. Only they can change the nature of our economic system, overcome stagnation, and halt the downward slide of our economy.

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